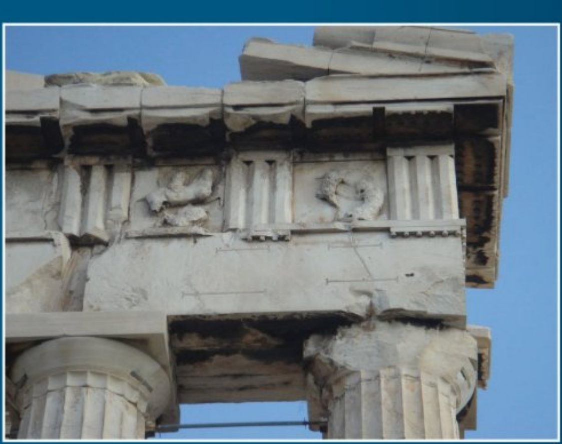
The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BCE

A PHILOSOPHER IN POLITICS



LARA O'SULLIVAN

BRILL

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317–307 BCE

Mnemosyne

Supplements

History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity

Edited by
Susan E. Alcock, Brown University
Thomas Harrison, Liverpool
Willem M. Jongman, Groningen
H.S. Versnel, Leiden

VOLUME 318

The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317–307 BCE

A Philosopher in Politics

By

Lara O'Sullivan

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

On the cover: Detail of the Parthenon. Photo: Author.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

O'Sullivan, Lara.
The rule of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 B.C. : a philosopher in politics / by Lara O'Sullivan.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne supplements. History and archaeology of classical antiquity, ISSN 0169-8958 ; v. 318)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-17888-5 (hbk. : alk. paper) 1. Demetrius, of Phaleron, b. ca. 350 B.C. 2. Demetrius, of Phaleron, b. ca. 350 B.C.—Political and social views. 3. Governors—Greece—Athens—Biography. 4. Statesmen—Greece—Athens—Biography. 5. Orators—Greece—Athens—Biography. 6. Philosophers, Ancient—Biography. 7. Athens (Greece)—Politics and government. 8. Philosophy, Ancient. 9. Athens (Greece)—Relations—Macedonia. 10. Macedonia—Relations—Greece—Athens. I. Title. II. Series.

DF235.48.D455O87 2009
938'.508092—dc22
[B]

2009033560

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 978 90 04 17888 5

Copyright 2009 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii
Preface ix
List of Abbreviations xi

Introduction 1

Chapter One The Background to the Regime: Demetrius of Phalerum's Early Years 9
- 1.1 The years in obscurity: the reigns of Philip, Alexander and the age of Lycurgus 9
- 1.2 Demetrius' rise to prominence: Athens after Alexander 21
- 1.3 The decade of Demetrius: some introductory observations 43

Chapter Two Demetrius the Law-giver: the Moral Programme 45
- 2.1 Burial laws 47
- 2.2 The *gunaikonomoi* and their laws 66
- 2.3 The *nomophulakes* 72
- 2.4 Demetrius and the *ephêbeia* 86
- 2.5 The laws: an interpretation and discussion of the historical context 90

Chapter Three The Institutions of Democracy 105
- 3.1 The citizen body 108
- 3.2 The assembly and council 116
- 3.3 Elections and the archonship 131
- 3.4 Jurisdiction in the courts: the *graphê paranomôn* and *eisangelia* 138
- 3.5 The Areopagus 147
- 3.6 The Athenian Institutions: a summary 159

Chapter Four Festivals and Finances: The Economic Administration of Athens 165
- 4.1 Demetrius and the *khorêgeia* 168
- 4.2 The other liturgies 185
- 4.3 The Athenian economy, 317–307 189

Chapter Five Philosophy and the Phalerean Regime 197
5.1 Demetrius' laws and the Peripatos 197
5.2 The philosophical schools and political calumny 204
5.3 Demetrius: orator, Peripatetic and patron of philosophers 226

Chapter Six Athens and Cassander 241
6.1 The years 317–307: a narrative history 241
6.2 Athenian foreign policy under Demetrius of Phalerum 278

Chapter Seven Conclusion 289

Appendices
1. The Literary sources for the regime of Demetrius 305
2. *Gunaikonomoi & nomophulakes*—a comparison 312
3. The duties of the *gunaikonomoi*: a rejected suggestion 315

Works Cited 319

Index locorum 335
General index 337

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Hellenistic *columellae* in the Keramikos 53
2. The grave *naiskos* of Aristonautes 60
3. The ‘Kallithea Monument’ of Niceratus of Istria 61
4. The khoregic monument of Nicias 179

PREFACE

This book has its origins in my doctoral dissertation undertaken at the University of Western Australia under the aegis of Brian Bosworth. An exacting teacher and a formidable scholar, Brian introduced his students to the joys and challenges of Hellenistic history, and bequeathed to us a model of methodology and scholarly integrity that this current project can only aspire to imitate. My debt to his teaching will be life long.

This book could not have been brought to completion without the continued support of University of Western Australia, whose ongoing commitment to the study of Classics in these straitened economic times is to be much lauded. Their generous award of a postdoctoral fellowship made it possible for me to re-enter academia after a spell of 'family duties,' and has given me the facilities to transform the original dissertation into a more coherent book; a travel grant from this same institution has enabled me to investigate at first hand the material remains of Demetrius of Phalerum's world. To my colleagues there, both past and present—and here I must name in particular Norman Ashton, and Pat Wheatley for many long and stimulating discussions over the years about 'his' Demetrius (Poliorcetes) and 'mine' (the Phalerean)—my heartfelt thanks; they have fostered a collegiality conducive to scholarship in one of the most geographically isolated Classics departments in the world. In this context, a word of thanks is due too the University's library staff, who do much to overcome this 'tyranny of distance.'

The transition from doctoral dissertation to monograph is never an easy task, and it is one that has benefited greatly from the experienced advice and sage critiques of many readers; the early guidance of Erich Gruen deserves special acknowledgement here. I owe a particular debt of gratitude too to Caroline van Erp at Brill, for her good humour and grace while steering the manuscript through the publication process.

A very personal debt of thanks must go to my family. My husband Neil has been both my toughest critic and my most supportive reader; my daughters, Sophia and Helena, have been endlessly patient and have been forced to know more of Hellenistic Athens than may

reasonably be expected of two ladies so young. Finally, this book, and the doctoral dissertation from which it grew, would not have been possible without my mother, Helen Knott, whose unstinting support made it possible to manage the competing demands of research and motherhood. This book is dedicated to her.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Agora XV	Meritt, Bejamin D. and John S. Traill. 1974. *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, XV. *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies.
Agora XVI	Woodhead, Arthur G. 1997. *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, XVI. *Inscriptions: The Decrees*. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies.
Clairmont *CAT*	Clairmont, Christoph W. 1993–95. *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1–6. Kilchberg: Akanthus Verlag für Achäologie.
FGrHist	Jacoby, Felix. 1923–58. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin and Leiden: Brill.
FHS&G	Fortenbaugh, William W., Pamela M. Huby, Robert W. Sharples and Dimitri Gutas. 1992. *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence* 2. Leiden and New York: Brill.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
KA	Kassel, Rudolf and Colin Austin. 1983–. *Poetae Comici Graeci* 1–. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter.
LGPN 2	Osborne, Michael G. and Sean G. Byrne, ed. 1994. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* 2. *Attica*. Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry G. and Robert Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., revised and augmented by Henry S. Jones et al. *Revised Supplement* ed. P.G.W. Glare. 1996. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
Mirhady	Mirhady, David C. 2001. "Dicaearchus of Messana: The Sources, Text and Translation". In *Dicaearchus of Messana: Text, Translation and Discussion*, ed. Willian W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

OGIS Dittenberger, Wilhelm. 1960. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 1903–1905. Reprint Hildesheim: G. Olms.

PA Kirchner, Johannes. 1966. *Prosopographia Attica*, rev. Siegfried Lauffer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

RE Pauly, August, Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 1893–1980. *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

RO Rhodes, Peter J. and Robin Osborne. 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

SIG Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Reprint Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960.

SOD Stork, Peter, Jan M. van Ophuijsen and Tiziano Dorandi. 2000. "Demetrius of Phalerum: The Sources, Text and Translation." In *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion*, ed. William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf, 1–310. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

TLG Berkowitz, Luci, Karl A. Squitier and William A. Johnson. 1990. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3rd ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Wehrli Wehrli, Fritz. 1968. *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar*, 2nd ed. Basel: Schwabe.

INTRODUCTION

In the late fourth century, Athens came under the spell of one of the more colourful and complex figures of her history: Demetrius of Phalerum. A dilettante who bleached his hair and rouged his cheeks, a man whose luxurious banquets were conducted in perfumed and mosaic-clad rooms, Demetrius was also a product of Aristotle's philosophical establishment, the Peripatos, and a remarkably accomplished scholar in his own right.

This erudite and urbane figure rose from political obscurity to rule his native city for the decade 317–307. His regime occupies a vital transitional period of Athenian history. In temporal terms, it provides the link between the classical Athens of Lycurgus and the emerging Hellenistic city of the third century. It was a time at which Athens was still held firmly under the suzerainty of Macedon, the dominant world power of the day, as it had been already for three decades, but the very nature of that suzerainty was being re-defined. For much of the previous three decades, Athens had been but one of numerous Greek states subordinated to the northern super-power by a web of treaties called the League of Corinth. By the time of Demetrius, both Philip and Alexander, the greatest of the Macedonian kings, were gone and the Macedonian world itself was fragmenting. Alexander's subordinates—the so-called Diadochoi—were seeking to carve out kingdoms for themselves in Alexander's erstwhile empire, and in the resulting confusion, individual Greek states were increasingly becoming influential agents and valued prizes in the internecine strife between warring Macedonian generals. The rise and fall of Demetrius himself is inextricably linked to these Macedonian struggles. He was elevated to power in Athens at the behest of one such Macedonian marshal, Cassander, a man soon to become ruler of Macedonia itself; he was ousted when the control of the Greek mainland was seized in turn by Cassander's enemies, the famous (or perhaps infamous) Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus Monophthalmus.

Phalerean Athens offers an unusually rich avenue of exploration for historians interested in Greek politics within this crucial period after Alexander. The history of individual Greek cities from the late fourth century has, until recently, suffered a measure of neglect, a neglect

caused in no small part by the rival attractions of the histories of the Diadochs themselves. Certainly, narrative accounts covering the late fourth century—notably books 18–20 of Diodorus' histories, and some lives of Plutarch, especially his *Demetrius* (Poliorcetes rather than the man from Phalerum)—focus on the battle for power among Alexander's marshals. But Athens' fate in this early Hellenistic period can be documented and explicated through the combination of often fragmentary details, to a degree not possible for many other individual *poleis*. In no other city can the impact of Macedonian hegemony, and the effects of the struggles of Alexander's successors, be traced in such detail. The comparative wealth of Athenian material is, of course, no accident. Already in antiquity the primacy of Athens among the Greek cities was recognised, and acknowledged indeed by the Macedonians themselves. Antigonus Monophthalmus, sending his son Poliorcetes to liberate Greece from Cassander in 307, stipulated Athens as the first target because, as he famously claimed, that city was "the watch tower of the whole world," a city which could "beacon forth his deeds to all mankind" (Plut. *Demetr.* 8.1). Athens remains that beacon, shedding a unique and special light onto the Greek world during the disintegration of Alexander's empire.

Demetrius' Athens has much to offer also to those with interests cultural and religious. While the city was increasingly marginalised in military terms, and her once formidable navy largely quiet after the loss to Macedon in the Lamian War,[1] Athens remained culturally and intellectually the foremost city of a Greek mainland in the throes of cultural and intellectual upheaval. Social and religious values were being tested by the confrontation with a Macedonian élite newly imbued with ideas from the East. Attitudes to the worship of mortals offer a case in point. In 324/23, Alexander the Great's desire that he himself be recognised as a god, and his beloved Hephaestion as a hero, was greeted in many Greek circles with debate and outrage. Less than two decades later, when Poliorcetes liberated Athens from the rule of Cassander and Demetrius of Phalerum, the city was to shower trappings of divine cult upon her mortal saviour. Further,

[1] Although Green 2003, 2 cautions against any overstatement of Athens' naval losses, arguing that the reduction in her rowing manpower may have been more the problem than a direct loss of ships.

during Demetrius of Phalerum's time in power—and in no small measure because of Demetrius himself—Athens' relations with the philosophical schools in her midst were challenged by new strains. Ties between the Macedonian élite and prominent members of the Peripatos would bring Athens close to imposing strict regulation (via the law of Sophocles) on all philosophical schools; the Athenians' ultimate repudiation of such regulation in 306 encouraged a new wave of intellectual activity, with the founding of Epicurus' school and the Stoa. Through the testimonia for the regime of Demetrius of Phalerum we can catch tantalising glimpses of the cultural debates that accompanied these transitions. Athens remains a city worthy of our attention.

The period of Demetrius' supremacy is an important one for other reasons, for it coincides with a time of great constitutional upheaval. Macedonian hegemony had come to impact increasingly on the governance of Athens, such that the Athenian constitution itself became an instrument in the competing claims of rival foreign leaders. Alexander the Great, and before him his father, Philip, had enshrined the much-lauded democratic government of Athens in treaties binding the city to the kings; subsequent Macedonian regents would curtail that democracy, and in turn restore it. Under Cassander's aegis, Demetrius presided over the second 'oligarchy' to have been imposed on Athens from the north, an oligarchy framed by two periods of democratic governance created by Cassander's adversaries. Demetrius himself was one of the last of the great legislators of Greek antiquity, despite the fact that Athens had lost much of her political autonomy to the Macedonians. His legislative programme has generated much interest, an interest fuelled largely by speculation about the influence of Peripatetic ideas on Demetrius. He implemented a programme of sumptuary laws designed to curb extravagance, and is widely credited with significant, oligarchic reshaping of the bureaucratic mechanisms of Athenian democracy. These reforms are of importance not only to students of Athenian law and politics: his provisions on funerary monuments, for example, were to have a lasting impact on Athenian sculpture and the application of laws in the sphere of religious observance makes the period a significant one for scholars of Hellenistic religion.

Despite the inherent value in the study of this period, it has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. Some German dissertations of the nineteenth century have been rendered largely obsolete by the

subsequent developments in our knowledge of the Athenian constitution (the rediscovery, in the late nineteenth century, of the Aristotelian *Athênaiôn Politeia* is fundamental here).[2] Demetrius did attract the attention of a handful of German and Italian scholars in the first half of the twentieth century, with a monograph by Bayer in 1942 being the most substantial published treatment to date.[3] An expansion, in recent years, of interest in post-classical history has led to the publication of a number of works on Hellenistic Athens, and Demetrius usually claims a chapter in these.[4] But full-scale, detailed examinations of Demetrius' decade remain few, beyond the seminal 1978 article by Gehrke. Much of the reason for the neglect lies with the rival attractions of the better attested periods that frame Demetrius' rule: Athens under Alexander, with its infamous 'Harpalus affair' of 324, and the era of Poliorcetes' ascendancy from 307, with its wealth of inscriptional evidence, have provided much more promising ground for historical investigation, and the intervening interval of Demetrius' government has suffered by comparison. The relative obscurity and intractability of some of the evidence for Demetrius' government has compounded the problem; collections of Demetrius' *fragmenta* have long been in existence (most notably as Jacoby's *FGrHist.* 228, and in Wehrli's volume on Demetrius in his *Die Schule des Aristoteles*), but the recent publication by Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf of a collection complete with English translation will hopefully make much of the period more accessible to a wider audience.

[2] So Dohrn 1825; Ostermann 1847 & 1857; Herwig 1850; Papasis 1893. On the matter of the *Athênaiôn Politeia*, a work commonly attributed to Aristotle, the true identity of the author is not vital to the present study. What is significant is the date of composition (the mid-late 320s), and, to a lesser extent, the possibility that it was composed by a member of the Peripatos. (On all these matters, see Rhodes 1993, 51–64). The date and possible provenance are of interest, in that the treatise may reflect the views of Athenian constitutional history held by Demetrius' contemporaries.

[3] Bayer 1942. See also De Sanctis 1893 12–20; Cohen 1926, 88–98; Colombini, 1965, 177–94. Mention must also be made of the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Lacroix 1942/43.

[4] Most notable is chapter 2.3 in Habicht 1995; Dreyer 1999 also touches upon the regime as part of a survey of Athenian history 322–230 (see esp. 161–64, 180–84). The most extensive contributions in English have been the chapter devoted to this period in Ferguson 1911a, and the pieces by Williams (1983a & 1997). To these may now be added the collection of articles accompanying the collection of Demetrius' fragments in Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000. Hellenistic Athens has also been the subject of important socio-economic studies in recent years, of which Oliver 2007 is particularly deserving of mention.

The present study is one attempt to address this neglect. It aims to subject Demetrius' decade in power to systematic consideration in its own right, viewed both from the perspective of affairs within the city itself, and as part of the broader context of Diadochan politics; through this close concentration on Demetrius' government, it seeks in particular to challenge some of the assumptions that have been at the foundation of earlier treatments of the regime. Two factors have been vital to many past reconstructions of Demetrius' legislative programme. First is the assessment of his government by its contemporary detractors as being oligarchic, an assessment which has encouraged an uncritical assimilation of Demetrius' objectives with the policies of an earlier, Macedonian-backed oligarchy in Athens (one imposed by the Macedonian regent, Antipater, in 322, on which see below). The second is Demetrius' association with the Peripatos, and in particular with its leader, Theophrastus. Taken together, these two factors have fostered a common assumption that Demetrius' regime was staunchly anti-democratic and very much a product of the hostility to democracy expressed by some of Athens' most noted thinkers. Indeed, for some, Demetrius has been the very incarnation of a Platonic 'philosopher-king',[5] and the weight of scholarship on Demetrius has been devoted to tracing philosophical influences in his legislative and constitutional reforms.

In recent decades, however, the nature of Demetrius' debt to his education has begun to be reappraised. In his major article on Demetrius' government, Gehrke looked at the extent to which Phalerean reforms can be seen not so much as the product of philosophical education, but really as symptomatic of a wider movements already felt in fourth-century Athens, trends towards increased legislative control over private life and away from radical democratic forms.[6] The challenge to the established picture of the Phalerean regime needs to go further, to question more closely not only the motivation for the reforms but the very nature of the reforms themselves. Many of Demetrius' supposed laws are poorly attested, and there has been too great a readiness to interpret the evidence, itself often fragmentary, in the light of a preconceived notion of what Demetrius was trying to do. This very

[5] Thus, for example, the verdict of Green 1988, 45, that "the ten years of Demetrius' rule are chiefly remarkable as evidence for what was liable to happen when a philosopher-king got a free hand in real life."

[6] Gehrke 1978.

assumption that Demetrius was concerned to impose some form of 'Aristotelian polity' has, in essence, dictated how the elusive records of the regime have been handled.

The use of the inscriptional record affords an example. The assumption of a philosophically-inspired programme has determined the interpretation of epigraphic silences, as is the case in the matter of the abolition of the khoregic liturgy, an act unanimously ascribed in modern scholarship to Demetrius.[7] Inscriptions pertaining to the dramatic festivals show that the *khorêgeia* was in place until 317; for the Phalerean years no data are available; when the inscriptions resume in 307/6, the *khorêgos* has been replaced with an elected official (an *agônothetês*) who manages the festival from the public purse. Demetrius' alleged authorship of the change rests largely on Aristotelian criticism of festival liturgies. Even more disturbingly, the widely accepted belief in an anti-democratic or philosophical programme has led on occasion to the attribution to Demetrius of some constitutional changes on virtually no evidence at all. For example, an Isocratean preference for Areopagite supremacy over the popular organs of assembly and heliastic juries is asserted in many studies of the period;[8] anecdotes about Areopagite investigations which are unconcerned with legal niceties and which probably do not even belong to this period are pressed into service as corroboration.

A fresh engagement with the evidence for Demetrius' reforms—particularly some very ambiguously attested measures pertaining to the organs of government and to magistracies—is thus timely. The aim is a more economical use of the surviving material: in some instances, this means questioning the justification for assigning specific constitutional changes to Demetrius, and identifying more plausible candidates for authorship; in others, it means examining what the sources actually claim, and not correcting them to conform to a preconceived notion of Phalerean oligarchy. This entails in essence a close reading of the source tradition, and the methodology here adopted is, in consequence, rather traditional; its aim is to strip away the theoretical

[7] On the khoregic and other liturgies, see below, 168ff.

[8] For detail and discussion, see 147ff. One might compare too the tendency to attribute to Demetrius an abolition of sortition, or an interference in assembly and council mechanisms, about which Tracy 2000, 337–39 has already judiciously expressed reservations.

preconceptions on which our understanding of Demetrius' regime has been too heavily based. What emerges is a rather different assessment of the nature of Demetrius' regime, in which it is argued that very few alterations to the mechanisms of democratic government are sustained by the evidence. The revision further allows Demetrius' legislation to be seen as a coherent programme of moral and religious reform, one aimed at the betterment of the Athenian citizenry.

This approach demands in turn some discussion of Demetrius' relationship with his philosophical mentors. The question 'in what way was Demetrius a Peripatetic philosopher?' is important for anyone wishing to supplement the Phalerean sources from the writings of Aristotle or Theophrastus. The sources leave us in little doubt that Demetrius was closely identified with the Peripatos: so much so that Diogenes Laertius includes a biography of him among treatments of the scholarchs of that school, despite the fact that Demetrius was never himself one of these. The foundation of that connection with the Peripatos need not, however, lie in Demetrius' legislative influences. Association with intellectuals was a politically charged issue in Athens; it had been so in the fifth century, and it became yet more so in the fourth because of the personal links of individual philosophers with the Macedonian élite. The characterisation of Demetrius as a Peripatetic thus needs to be evaluated within the matrix of contemporary politics and anti-philosophical rhetoric.

Any revision of Demetrius' programme necessitates too a reconsideration of his fiscal management. Athens prospered under his rule; so Demetrius himself is reported to have boasted, and while his enemies mock him for his evident pride they do not deny his actual achievements (so Polyb. 12.13.9–10 = Demetr. 89 SOD). But by what was this prosperity driven? An Aristotelian belief in the need to preserve the 'middle classes' by securing their wealth (by abolishing, for example, the burden of the khoregic liturgy) has at times been suggested. A better answer is to be found in the stability afforded by Cassander's hegemony, and in the pattern of Athenian foreign policy under Demetrius. Although stripped of military independence by the imposition of Macedonian garrisons, and thus no longer an autonomous player in armed conflicts, Athens had by no means become a simple instrument of Macedonian strategy; rather, Demetrius was called upon to balance the demands of his Macedonian hegemon with the imperatives of domestic Athenian concerns. Those concerns centre often on

the need to provision the city, and to buffer it from the turmoil that ravaged Greece in the Diadochan era.

The twin assumptions of intellectual dogmatism and political tyranny which have so coloured modern accounts of Demetrius were precisely the two most prominent claims made against him by his enemies during his lifetime. This is the language, and the framework, of partisanship, and it is all we should expect from his opponents. But, as we should also expect, there was another viewpoint, and another story to tell about his motivations and his actions; and this other account particularly claims our attention not just because we have not heard it before, but, more importantly, because it emerges as a more coherent version of the events of his decade of authority in Athens.

A word or two must be said on technical matters. In my renderings of Greek personal names, I have generally opted to use Latinised forms (such as –us for the –os termination), particularly for those already more familiar in an established Latinised form (and here there can be no better example than Demetrius of Phalerum). Other Greek terms, including titles of ancient texts, are transliterated.

Ancient testimonia to the life and fragments of the works of Demetrius are, where applicable, given a number; the reference is to the texts and translations of Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi (henceforth SOD) in the publication edited by Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf. The translations used throughout are those of that edition, copyright (2000) by Transaction Publishers, and are reprinted by kind permission of the publisher. Any alteration I have made to those translations is noted where necessary in the text.

All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND TO THE REGIME: DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM'S EARLY YEARS

1.1 *The years in obscurity: the reigns of Philip, Alexander and the age of Lycurgus*

Of Demetrius of Phalerum himself, his family background and date of birth, frustratingly few details are known, despite the fact that Diogenes Laertius devotes a *Life* to him (Diog. Laert. 5.75–83 = Demetr. 1 SOD). From that biography, we glean some enchanting snippets, such as his nicknames—Kharitoblepharos ('having the eyelids of the Graces') and Lampito ('the radiant one')—and his much-remarked liaison with Lamia, an Athenian woman later loved by Demetrius Poliorcetes.[1] About other valuable information, our sources are more reticent. A birth-date in the late-350s is plausible but largely speculative, and a ten-year margin of difference could easily be accommodated: the chronological pointers in the sources are characteristically vague, and little chronographic burden can be borne by the statement by Diogenes Laertius (5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD) that Demetrius entered political life around 324 (a statement with which may be coupled Eusebius' registration of Demetrius as an illustrious individual under Olympiad 115 (320–317: Demetr. 4 SOD).[2] The family is obscure and not, it seems, of eminent political pedigree: Demetrius was, with his brother, Himeraeus, the first generation of his family known to have engaged to any degree in public life, and there is nothing to disprove Diogenes' claim that Demetrius was "not well born" (5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD). On the other hand, the anecdotal tradition that makes Demetrius himself a slave, or son of a slave, from the household of the generals Conon and

---

[1] His nicknames and relationship with Lamia are remarked upon elsewhere: see Demetr. 2, 5, 6 SOD. The tradition linking Lamia both with Demetrius of Phalerum and with Demetrius Poliorcetes has been regarded with some suspicion; certainly, confusion of the two Demetrii does occur in the sources (compare 309 n. 11 also Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 123–24) and this may be yet another example. On Lamia and Poliorcetes, see Wheatley 2003.

[2] See further Sollenberger 2000, 324–25 for discussion of the chronology of Demetrius' life.

Timotheus smacks of political slander and can carry little weight (see Diog. Laert. 5.75, and Aelian *V.H.* 12.43 = Demetr. 4 SOD); if there is any truth in the relationship to the household of Conon, it could perhaps have been a marriage link.[3] We are not in a position to trace with certainty the ancestral political affiliations of his family. By the late 320s, however, it was a family divided by politics. Demetrius and Himeraeus emerged into rather opposed political camps, Himeraeus losing his life in the fight against Macedonian hegemony (see further 33ff) and Demetrius being elevated by it.

The division within the family represents a microcosm of the more widespread divisions in Athenian society that had been created by the spectre of Macedon. Demetrius and his contemporaries had, indeed, grown up in a city living increasingly in the shadow of Macedon, and the struggles between Greece and Macedon cannot but have left their mark on the young man of Phalerum. Demetrius himself can have been little more than a boy in 338 when Philip of Macedon and his army conquered a combined Hellenic force at Chaeronea in central Greece, thereby crushing the Greek resistance to Macedonian expansionism. From that time, Athens and other city-states like her had been bound into a network of bilateral treaties that formed the 'League of Corinth', a League that enshrined the primacy of the Macedonian king. The League terms allowed Philip, and after him Alexander, a means of control in both the foreign and internal affairs of signatory states. The freedom of military action of the Greek cities was effectively curbed by the alliances binding them to the monarch; although the League was formally governed by a council (*synhedrion*) comprising representatives from the member states, the Macedonian king was its executive officer, and the states were obliged in reality to follow his directives in foreign policy. This ensured, for example, Greek participation in Macedon's invasion of Persia, and we know that Athens was assessed for her contribution of ships and cavalry for that campaign (Plut. *Phoc.* 16.4 cf. *Mor.* 188c, 847c, 848e; Phot. *Bibl.* 495B; to these may now be added the evidence from the newly published fragments of Hyperides' *Against Diondas* from the Archimedes Palimpsest, esp. p. 8 (= 174v) ll.23–24).[4] From the

[3] On the family background see Davies 1971, no. 3455 for references and comment. Tritle 1988, 31 suggests that these links may have given Demetrius an association also with Phocion, on which see also below, 25.

[4] The pagination of the new Hyperides text is that of Carey *et al.* 2008; compare p. 8 (= 175v) ll. 11–12 where Hyperides gives figures for the military contributions

political perspective, while the essential freedoms (the *eleutheria* and *autonomia*) of each party were enshrined, there could be little doubt of the overriding authority of Macedon. The alliances, after all, stipulated the preservation of those regimes in power in 337 when the League was created, with all states sworn to punish any violation against those governments; that clause gave the Macedonian king a valuable pretext for interference in internal Greek politics.

Athens' acceptance of the League, and of the common peace that was declared with the institution of that body, signalled the end of the city's true independence. She did not, however, fare as ill as some other states under Macedonian domination. She was not required to submit to a garrison, as were Thebes, Corinth and Ambracia. Nor did her standing in the Greek world suffer significant material damage. Of the naval empire which Athens had amassed in the first half of the fourth century (itself but a shadow of the great Athenian empire of the fifth century) few allies actually remained in 338: most had thrown off the Athenian yoke in the 'Social War' fought two decades earlier. The few surviving remnants of that empire were dissolved in 338, but Athens retained her more vital concerns: these included Samos, whose native population had been displaced in 365 by Athenian settlers, and the annexed islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros.[5] Moreover, under Philip, Athens acquired Oropus, a disputed site on the Attic border that had been under Boeotian control for almost thirty years. The preferential treatment afforded Athens by Philip and Alexander was due, at least in part, to her status as a figurehead. When Alexander embarked upon the great expedition against Persia planned by his father, his stated aim was to avenge the sacrilege perpetrated against Greece by Xerxes in the fifth century; the rhetoric of the campaign demanded that special honour be granted Athens, the city that had led Greek resistance to Xerxes and had suffered most at his hands. Alexander's decision to spare Athens when she attempted a rebellion against him in 336/35 was due in no small measure to this fact, and he made a further gesture of acknowledgement by dedicating to the

demanded of Athens by Philip. Horváth 2008, 32 cf. 34–35 with his new suggested reading of p. 5 (= 176r) l.1 suggests that the Corinthian League treaty obliged Athens to give 10 ships, and that the 20 recorded in service with Alexander (Diod. 17.22.5) represent a double-demand by Alexander.

[5] Athens had established cleruchies in the Chersonnese which may also have been ousted in 338: Bosworth 1988, 16.

Parthenon Athena the first spoils of his first major Persian victory (Arr. 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16.18).[6]

Within the Athenian citizenry, opinions were divided on the appropriate reaction to Macedonian hegemony. On the one hand, and despite the mild treatment meted out by Philip and Alexander, involvement in the League had been regarded with disdain by many. Subordination to a Macedonian *hegemon* would always be an affront to the dignity of a city that, from the fifth century, had prided itself on its championship of Hellenic freedoms. Indeed, a prominent theme in Demosthenes' rhetoric against Philip (one thinks especially here of his masterly Third Philippic) is the equating of fourth-century Macedon with fifth-century Persia; Demosthenes casts Macedon as the 'foreign foe' threatening the liberty of Greece, and calls upon the Athenians to assume the mantle of liberators as they had done against the Persian invaders a century earlier.[7] Thus Athens continued to portray herself as the rightful champion of Hellenic liberty, and the ebullience of the national mood encouraged many Athenians to aspire to throwing off the Macedonian yoke. It was Athens that was the galvanising force in the rebellion which swept through the Greek mainland when Philip was assassinated in 336 (a rebellion that proved short-lived, despite the support enthusiastically given by Thebes and Aetolia); she would rise again only months later—again assisted by Thebes—when it was erroneously reported that the new king Alexander had been killed while campaigning in the north. Her disaffection is evidenced further in 331, when the city came close to another open rebellion. (She ultimately decided against revolt because the instigator of the new move against Macedon was King Agis of Sparta, and Athens was unwilling to join an effort that might simply replace Macedonian supremacy with Spartan.)

---

[6] At the same time as honouring Athens for her glorious past, Alexander needed to discourage dissent in the contemporary city. Thus, at the very same time as Persian panoplies were dedicated on the Acropolis, Athenian mercenaries who had been captured from the Persian lines were detained in captivity, and Alexander, perhaps wishing to use these men as sureties for their city's good behaviour, refused an Athenian embassy sent to plead for the men's release (Arr. 1.29.5–6; Curt. 3.1.9; *IG* ii^2 1496 ll.52ff).

[7] See esp. Dem. 9.36, 70ff. Demosthenes here urges a very different course from that espoused by Isocrates in the latter's Panhellenic oration, in which Philip is urged to end Greece's internecine squabbles and unite the Greeks in a common campaign against the true [i.e. Persian] foe. For Demosthenes' Panhellenic vision, and the interplay with Isocrates, see Jaeger 1938, 171–75.

Fuelling these aspirations towards independence was the rhetoric of some of Athens' greatest orators and most capable politicians. Their identities are known to us, even when most of their speeches are lost, from the lists of those whose surrender was demanded by Alexander in the aftermath of the various rebellions. Demosthenes was one such demanded in 335; another was Polyeuctus of Sphettus, a figure of some importance during Demetrius of Phalerum's later regime. Other voices urged a more moderate stance. The aged but experienced general Phocion repeatedly spoke for caution, not so much from any Macedonian sympathies but from his real doubts about Athens' military readiness to tackle the power of Macedon: he advised his compatriots in 324 that the city, in his estimation, was "good for the short dash", but unprepared for the "long course" (Plut. *Phoc.* 23.3). Among the wealthier echelons of Athenian society, who were no doubt reluctant to take on the cost of actual warfare, Phocion may have had a sympathetic audience: this, at least, is the impression given by Diodorus (18.10.1), who records the hesitation of the rich to support an armed uprising.

The experience of Macedonian hegemony under Philip and Alexander had some salutary, if contradictory, lessons for the young Athenians of Demetrius' generation. For while the curtailment of Athenian freedom rankled, there were benefits to be had from the new world order that the Macedonians had imposed. One aspect of Athenian affairs in which the influence of Macedon was positively, although indirectly, felt was the economic running of the city. The relative stability of Greece under Alexander's leadership, particularly in the 320s when the king was campaigning far from the Greek mainland, provided ideal circumstances for fostering Athenian prosperity: the trade upon which the city relied so heavily could go on unimpeded in the conditions of peace, as could the agricultural exploitation of the Attic territory.[8] The state revenues are indeed known to have flourished at this time, to the extent that the age of Alexander was a period of unparalleled wealth in the city. From the 400 talents *per annum* attested for the year 346, the city income reached a remarkable 1200 talents in the 320s ([Plut.] *Mor.* 852c), a sum rarely rivalled.[9]

---

[8] Oliver 2007 esp. 113ff draws proper attention to the economic impact of military invasions in the Hellenistic period in Athens, a situation that contrasts with the stability of the period before 323.

[9] Habicht 1997, 23 observes that the sum is 'slightly more than two and a half times the yearly tribute demanded by the city from the member states of the Naval

This marked escalation in revenues is associated closely with the policies of one individual, the aristocrat Lycurgus. He controlled the financial administration of the state (either in person, or through sympathetic deputies) from ca. 336 until his death in 325/24. Unfortunately, many of the specific details of his management are unclear.[10] It is deemed probable that a main source of this increased income was harbour and sales taxes: this is made plausible by Athens' active protection of trading vessels—in 335/34, Lycurgus initiated the dispatch of a naval expedition to suppress piracy (*IG* ii² 1623 ll.276–308), and in 325/24 Athens established a new colony in the Adriatic, the chief stated aim of which was to secure trade in the region (*RO* 100, ll.217ff). Also bolstering income was the sale of mining leases (chiefly for the famed silver mines of Laurion in Attica), as were funds from the leasing of public land in Oropus.[11]

Athens' prosperity saw her flourish, both materially and in morale. Perhaps the most visible benefit of the new-found wealth was the beautification of Athens on a scale not witnessed since the days of Pericles. Under the aegis of Lycurgus, the city deployed her abundant revenues in a number of ambitious building projects. The focal point of the Athenian democracy, the meeting place for assemblies called the Pnyx, was extended and renovated, as were the buildings which housed the council and the courts. Temples and religious sanctuaries, both within the city and without, received much attention: a new stone bridge eased the journey of pilgrims to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis; the shrine of Amphiaraus, situated in the territory of Oropus, enjoyed the advantages of Athenian ownership through the improvement of its drainage; in Athens itself, the sanctuary of Asclepius gained a substantial hall, while a new temple of Apollo Patroos was erected in the *agora*. This spate of building proclaimed a renaissance in Athenian civic pride and optimism, a pride felt in spite of the city's subordination to Alexander. The construction of a grand stadium for the celebration of the Great Panathenaea (the quadrennial festival which drew visitors from all over the Greek world) served well in advertising Athenian

Confederacy in the fifth century'. For comparable revenues under Demetrius, see below, 165ff; 298.

[10] For detailed discussion of his programmes, see further Mitchel 1970; Humphreys 1985; Faraguna 1992, esp. 245ff. The most complete ancient record of his administration is the decree in his honour, on which see Oikonomides 1986.

[11] Burke 1985, 259ff; Humphreys 1985, 204–205.

aspirations to an international audience, as did the construction of elaborate stone seats in the theatre of Dionysus beneath the Acropolis.

Significant sums were used to strengthen Athens' military capacity. New dockyards and an arsenal were built, and the Long Walls that secured communication between the city and her port, the Piraeus, were repaired and upgraded; Athens' key asset, her navy, was greatly augmented and modernised. When Athens launched the Lamian (or, to contemporaries, *Hellenic*) War against Macedonia in 323, she had over 400 battle-ready warships at her disposal, compared to the 349 hulls in various states of repair registered barely two decades earlier; of these, an increased proportion were quadriremes, reflecting the growing trend in naval warfare towards heavier vessels rather than the triremes which had hitherto dominated.[12] The city was able to amass these resources largely untroubled by Macedon, as adherence to Alexander was not proving particularly burdensome in its material aspect. As part of the Hellenic League, Athens had been obliged to contribute ships and cavalry to League campaigns (such as the expedition against Persia, launched in 334), but as the purpose of Alexander's mission gradually shifted from retribution for Persian misdeeds to the acquisition of an eastern empire for Macedon, the allied Greek contingents became increasingly unimportant; a mere 20 Athenian ships are noted in Alexander's service (Diod. 17.22.5).[13] Indeed, the monarch himself was becoming ever more remote, and his viceroy in Macedon, the elderly general Antipater, lacked the resources to become involved unless pressed to do so in the affairs of the League states.

Another major development made possible by contemporary affluence was the formalisation and systematisation of the *ephêbeia*,[14] a programme for the training of Athenian youth (the *ephêbes*). The two-year training was essentially military, furnishing the state with a force ready when an opportunity arose for liberation from Macedonian hegemony. But it had other, more broadly patriotic aims: upon induction into the *ephêbeia*, the new recruits swore an oath to preserve the laws and sanctuaries of Attica, and then were taken on a guided tour of the

---

[12] For fleet figures, see *IG* ii[2] 1627 l.266, *IG* ii[2] 1629 l.811, with Ashton 1977, 3–7.

[13] Horvath 2008, 34 follows Berve in arguing that Athens was not among the Greek states to whom Alexander sent Hegelochus to raise an additional fleet in 333 (on which see Arr. 2.2.3; Curt. 3.1.19–20).

[14] The institution had been in existence for many years, but its formalisation as a compulsory part of Athenian education can be traced to a law of Epicrates from 336/35, on which see Rhodes 1993, 494–95.

city temples; the ephebic corps also took part in the major religious ceremonies. Under the new system, Athenian youths were required to participate in the training course once they had been formally enrolled in the citizenship lists at the age of eighteen or nineteen.[15] For the first year they were housed and fed in common barracks in the Piraeus, under the supervision of two elected officials, a *sophronistês* and *kosmêtês*, and they received specialised training in weaponry; the second year was spent manning the frontier fortresses of Attica. The programme was maintained by the state, which undertook the expenses of the officials, paid for a set of weapons for each ephebe, and moreover provided a living allowance for those enrolled.

As the martial capability of Athens had grown, so too had the patriotism of her citizens, whose zeal had been amply encouraged in ways less tangible than the construction of civic buildings or the consolidation of military resources. With the conscious attempt to instil patriotic sentiment in the ephebic corps, we may compare the elevation of democracy, a form of constitution born in Athens and fundamental to Athenian self-identity, into an object of cult in this period. A bronze figure representing democracy was commissioned in 332, and records show that the state generals presented sacrifices to *Demokratia* in 332/31 and 331/30.[16] Rhetoric and public sentiment were thus firmly democratic in the second half of the fourth century, and the rhetoric was in some ways matched by practice, with an unprecedented level of political engagement by large numbers of Athenian individuals.[17]

This celebration of *Demokratia* can, however, obscure the fact that the nature of the democracy itself was undergoing subtle shifts, many under the aegis of Lycurgus, some of which could be deemed superficially to be in tension with democratic ideology. For example, the 340s witnessed something of a revival of the authority of the Areopagus council. It was reputed to be the most ancient of the governing bodies of the city, and, until the time of Solon, the most powerful: it enjoyed wide-ranging judicial authority, and is described in the Aristotelian

---

[15] Participation may have been required of all able-bodied youths, although it has been argued (Rhodes 1993, 503) that those of the lowest income class (the *thetes*) may have been excluded.

[16] For details of these and other indications of the new cult, see Raubitschek 1962.

[17] Habicht 1997, 22 notes that a striking characteristic of these years was “the variety of political activities and the large number of citizens for whom political activity can be documented”, a characteristic significant even when allowance is made for the comparatively ample state of records for this time.

Athênaiôn Politeia as exercising guardianship of the laws.[18] The rise of democracy in Athens in the mid-fifth century had drastically curbed the Areopagus' competence;[19] so much so that, in the first half of the fourth century, the Areopagus is sometimes portrayed as an institution almost at odds with a democratic constitution, a relic of a former, aristocratic age. Isocrates composed a famous pamphlet espousing a return of the Areopagus to a position of prestige and authority in the city, but he repeatedly claims that, in arguing thus, he will be accused of oligarchic, or anti-democratic, sympathies (Isocrates 7.58–61). Yet later in the fourth century, the Areopagus did acquire extended powers. We hear of a new procedure, *apophasis*, being followed by the Areopagus. *Apophasis* allowed the Areopagus, on instruction from the assembly or on its own initiative, to conduct an initial investigation of any matter, and make a report of its findings (the *apophasis* proper, from which the procedure is named) to the assembly; acting on the verdict of guilt or innocence reached by the Areopagus, the assembly might send the matter to a court for trial and sentencing. This new procedure did not cede any actual judicial competence to the Areopagus—trial and judgement remained with the courts—but it did give the Areopagus wide scope for involvement in the affairs of the city, and the old council readily adopted the new power, using it on numerous occasions.[20]

The 340s and 330s also saw moves towards the centralisation and specialisation of some bureaucratic tasks, of which the financial administration is a prime example. Financial administration had traditionally been the preserve of the council, the *boulê*. But in the 350s and 340s, the monetary affairs of Athens were brought increasingly under the influence of the Theoric commission, a board whose nominal duty was simply the distribution of grants to Athenian citizens at religious festivals.[21] By the

---

[18] An excellent history of the Areopagus is that by Wallace 1989. This council was in existence even in the regal period, when it consisted of aristocrats and acted as an advisory board to the king.

[19] By the mid-fifth century, most of its powers had been transferred to the assembly or to the council (*boulê*); the Areopagus retained a judicial competence only in cases of homicide, wounding and arson, along with a supervision of the sacred olive trees of Athens: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 25.2 with the commentary of Rhodes 1993, 317ff.

[20] Note too the Areopagus' interference in the appointment of a general: so Plut. *Phoc.* 16.4, with 157 n. 145 below. For more detailed discussion of the augmented Areopagite powers, see further 149ff.

[21] The precise nature of the development of, and changes to, the Theoric funds is ambiguous, and has generated a considerable array of scholarship. See in particular Buchanan 1962; Rhodes 1993, 515ff; Lewis 1997, esp. 212–21.

340s, however, the Theoric fund became essentially a state treasury; revenue surplus to the basic administrative costs of state was absorbed into it, and it became responsible for the financing of any extraordinary public works. It could even exert great influence on foreign policy, as it controlled funds needed to launch any military initiative.[22] The Theoric fund was originally supervised by a board (perhaps ten strong, one drawn from each Attic tribe), but by 343/42 it appears that the group may have been replaced by a single, elected commissioner.[23] In the 330s, the administration changed again. Lycurgus' financial administration seems to have been exercised through a newly created post, which displaced the power of the Theoricon (the Theoric fund apparently retaining only its nominal function). The sources are unfortunately vague about his official designation, which may have been as official 'in charge of the administration' (*ho epi têi dioikêsei*).[24] It is clear, however, that the post was an elected one, not one filled by lot, and safeguards were instituted to discourage its monopolisation: it was not to be held by any individual for more than four years in a row. Yet Lycurgus is thought to have dominated the office for perhaps three four-year blocks through direct personal tenure and through the tenure of sympathisers (Xenocles of Sphettus is notable here, on whom see *SEG* 19.119).[25]

The anti-democratic aspect of this ever-increasing centralisation of finances ought not be over-stated: the Theoric commissioners, and after them Lycurgus, could not act unilaterally; their proposals for the expenditure of funds were ratified by the assembly. Nor need the impetus behind the creation of these posts be necessarily anti-democratic. The increasing complexity of administration made it logical to entrust supervision to a smaller group, who could acquire more specialised expertise in an on-going, rather than annual, position; the obvious comparison is with the generals, who remained elected at Athens after most other offices became sortitive. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that such centralising trends could be easily accommodated within a period of very

[22] Campaigns against Macedon were thwarted in 346 (Dem. 19.291) and 330 ([Plut.] *Mor*. 818.e–f) by Theoric commissioners, Eubulus (on whom Cawkwell 1963 remains fundamental) and Demades respectively, who would finance warfare only by cancelling the normal festival payments, a move which the *dêmos* was too self-interested to countenance.

[23] So Rhodes 1972, 235, based on the appearance of a single theoric official for that year in *IG* ii^2 223c ll. 5–6.

[24] On Lycurgus' rather problematic title, see Rhodes 1993, 515–16; Mossé 1989, 27–28; Lewis 1997, 221ff and below 165 n. 2.

[25] So [Plut.] *Mor*. 841b cf. 852b.

marked democratic ideology. This fact must be borne in mind when assessing the constitutional flavour of the subsequent Phalerean era.

There were other developments in the Lycurgan period which, although not at variance with a democratic constitution as such, were certainly at odds with the kind of Athenian governance celebrated most famously in the funeral oration that Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles.[26] Thucydides' Pericles praises the freedom and tolerance which Athenians enjoyed in their private lives: Athenians, he observes, are not subject to interference in their individual behaviour, a fact which has made them no less willing to obey the laws which govern public affairs. The implied contrast is, of course, with Sparta, a city in which many aspects of the daily lives of its citizens—their marriages, burials and even dining habits—were regulated by law. The contrast with Sparta becomes explicit in the matter of education: Pericles claims "the Spartans, from their earliest boyhood, are submitted to the most laborious training in courage; we pass our lives without all these restrictions, and yet are just as ready to face the same dangers as they." Under Lycurgus, Athens began to move away from the Periclean ideals towards a more Spartan system. The formalisation of the *ephêbeia* is the clearest symptom of this: the barracks living and rigorous training of the ephebes closely recalls the Spartan practices of military exercising and communal messes.[27] But there are other, less obvious expressions of a trend towards increased state interference in private life. Anecdotal evidence attests to the existence of sumptuary laws in this period, such as a regulation governing the wearing of muslin, and also to scrutiny of individuals suspected of idleness.[28] Again, laws against luxury are more reminiscent of traditional Spartan virtues than of the Athenian love of beauty celebrated by Pericles a century earlier.[29]

There is something of the same spirit, of a desire to foster adherence to correct forms and appropriate behaviour, in Lycurgus' other documented activities. At his instigation, an investigation was undertaken to compile accurate texts of the works of the great tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides ([Plut.] *Mor.* 841f); only authorised texts were to be used for subsequent performances of the classic plays. Legislation was not the only means Lycurgus employed:

---

[26] As reported by Thucydides, 2.35–46, esp. 37–39. The dramatic date is 431/30.

[27] On the Spartan system, see Plut. *Lyc.* 12; 16.

[28] The relevant anecdotes are treated in detail below, 71 cf. 312; 100–101.

[29] For Sparta's sumptuary laws, which are also attributed to their lawgiver Lycurgus, see Plut. *Lyc.* 9–10, 13.3–5.

he was famed as a prosecutor, with contemporaries alleging that his pen was dipped in blood rather than ink ([Plut.] *Mor.* 841e), and the individual cases recorded by the sources certainly display a concern to enforce propriety. On two occasions Lycurgus launched prosecutions on the basis of the cowardly and unpatriotic behaviour of the accused: in 338 he attacked a former city magistrate who had evacuated his wife and children from Athens when an invasion by Philip of Macedon loomed, and in 330 he prosecuted another individual who had fled with his family after the battle at Chaeronea eight years earlier. Analyses of Lycurgus' policies also focus on his concern for proper religious observance. His interest in providing fitting tribute to the gods is evident in the high proportion of his building programme devoted to temples and sanctuaries, and there are inscriptions showing that his concern extended to the provision of accoutrements, not just buildings, for religious festivals (see particularly *IG* ii^2 334). But noteworthy too is the concern to inculcate the city's traditional religious practices in Athenian youth—the ephebes' temple tour and festival participation have been mentioned already in an earlier context[30]—and he is said to have spoken publicly on religious topics on numerous occasions ([Plut.] *Mor.* 843c). He is, furthermore, reported to have legislated on aspects of religious practice, prohibiting women from travelling by carriage to Eleusis for the Mysteries (Aelian *V.H.* 13.24; [Plut.] *Mor.* 842a–b).

In the democracy of the second half of the fourth century, then, there are identifiable tendencies towards more active scrutiny of the religious and private lives of the citizens. These moralising tendencies are at odds with the kind of Athenian society lauded by the Pericles of Thucydides 2.35ff, but they need not be interpreted as fundamentally anti-democratic in themselves, or as motivated by anti-democratic tendencies. Rather, Lycurgus' concern to establish moral values and traditional religious practices is consistent with a patriotic support of democracy, since a democratic form of constitution could be consolidated only by the strengthening of the calibre of its constituent citizens.[31] Similarly, the trend towards the preference for elected individual officials, albeit in tension with the ideology of radical democracy

[30] The pre-occupation with religious matters is evident also in the prosecution speech against Leocrates from 330.

[31] Compare also Wallace 1989, 195–98 esp. 196 for the democratic allegiance of Lycurgus and his moral/religious conservatism.

that espoused sortitive selection and limited tenure, does not signify any real shift in sentiment away from democracy in Athens. Democracy was well entrenched: it had been enshrined as Athens' constitution by Philip of Macedon when he brought Athens into the League of Corinth in 337, and a democracy was again upheld by Alexander when he re-affirmed the League's existence after his accession in 336; not long after Chaeronea, a domestic safeguard had been added in Athens itself, with a certain Eucrates passing a law which forbade any attempt to subvert the prevailing democratic constitution.[32] It was hence in a staunchly democratic Athens that Demetrius of Phalerum was reared, but a democracy capable of change and evolution. It is the experience of this democracy that will have informed Demetrius' formative years and that, as will be argued below, may have done much to shape his own later political style and interests.

1.2 *Demetrius' rise to prominence: Athens after Alexander*

The decades of Demetrius' youth were both, as we have seen, a time of foreign subjugation and a time of marked renaissance in Athenian affairs. By the end of Alexander's life, Athens was buoyed up by a revived tide of nationalism, and she was well equipped militarily, with a sizeable fleet and a disciplined (although critically inexperienced) body of youths, all of this sustained by the great wealth amassed under Lycurgus' administration. Paradoxically, it was the city's subordination to Macedonian suzerainty, and the period of peace that accompanied that subordination, which had facilitated the generation of Athens' remarkable income, and it was that very income that had created the conditions for a revitalisation of Athenian optimism and patriotism. These competing interests inevitably fostered tensions within the city, tensions that were never far from the surface in Athenian politics while the city was under the aegis of Macedon. In 324, those tensions once more came to a head. In that year Alexander, recently returned from his tour of conquest in the East, adopted a new policy of direct interference in the affairs of Greece and demanded that the Greek cities repatriate their exiled citizens. Motivated in part by Alexander's need to resettle large numbers of mercenaries dismissed

32 *RO* 79.

from his service, the edict was a blatant contravention of the terms of the League that governed relations between the monarch and the Greek cities; its promulgation hinted that Alexander intended to treat the Greek mainland as part of a Macedonian empire, governable by royal fiat. The 'Exiles' Decree', as it is commonly known, had significant ramifications for Athens, because it challenged Athenian control of one of her most valued foreign possessions: Samos. The return of exiles implied the restoration of those Samians displaced by Athenian colonists, and hence the restoration of Samian independence. Athens immediately appealed against the application of the king's edict to their island territory, but Alexander judged in favour of the native Samians' claims.[33]

Relations between Alexander and the Greeks were further strained by Alexander's apparent desire to be recognised as a god, a desire which had been hinted at for many years in the Macedonian court but a desire advanced more explicitly in 324. The elevation of a mortal to divine status offended Greek religious sentiment, and the prospect was greeted with opprobrium by many Athenians.[34] Athens' official response to the issue was complicated by her dilemma over the Exiles' Decree: while there remained a chance of retaining Samos through diplomatic channels, the outright rejection of a cult for Alexander was hardly politic. Once again, debate raged between those, like the pious Athenian aristocrat, Lycurgus, who refused to compromise religious propriety for the sake of conciliating the king, and others who argued the cause of expediency. Prominent in the latter camp was the ever-pragmatic politician Demades, who eventually moved a decree granting Alexander divine honours.[35]

In the midst of these provocations came the appearance off the Attic coast of Harpalus, Alexander's erstwhile friend and treasurer of Babylon. During Alexander's long absence in the east, Harpalus had usurped royal prerogatives, and in 324, anticipating reprisals from the returning monarch, fled to Athens seeking refuge. The large sums of money with which he had absconded (some 5000 talents, of which he

---

[33] The edict is discussed fully by Bosworth 1988, 220–28.

[34] Whether or not Alexander explicitly demanded divine status from the Greeks is a contentious issue: Cawkwell 1994 is particularly sceptical, but compare Badian 1996. That his divinity was debated in Athens and Sparta (see Aelian, *VH* 2.19, Plut. *Mor.* 219e) in 324 indicates at least that many Greeks felt that divine recognition would have been welcomed by him.

[35] Even Demosthenes was willing to yield on this issue for the sake of Athens' Aegean interests: Hyp. 3.31.

took 700 into Athens: so Diod. 17.108.6) could certainly have assisted Athens in the deployment of forces against Alexander, and there are indications that—now, if not before—there was talk in some Athenian quarters of open resistance to Macedon.[36]

It is at this critical juncture in Athenian affairs that Demetrius of Phalerum makes his first appearance in the historical record, if we accept as accurate the claim of Diogenes Laertius (5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD), quoting the authority of Demetrius of Magnesia, that Demetrius "entered politics at the time when Harpalus, fleeing Alexander, came to Athens." The statement is tantalising in its brevity. Demetrius enters the historical picture at one of the great flashpoints of Athenian history, when relations between Athens and Alexander were strained and some elements in Athens were ready to contemplate confrontation, yet no source gives us a hint of the nature of Demetrius' first political engagement; and this despite the rather good documentation of the heated debate provoked in Athens by Harpalus' arrival, and the ensuing investigations of men alleged to have profited personally from Harpalus' monies. Neither are we explicitly informed of Demetrius' stance regarding the open rebellion that finally broke out upon the untimely death of Alexander in 323.

The launching of that rebellion—the Lamian War, as it is known to posterity—was in many respects a high point in Athenian history under Macedon. Once more it was Athens which, with Aetolia, first rallied the Greek states to divest themselves of the Macedonian overlords, and as a principal co-ordinator of the war effort, she again enjoyed a powerful hegemony unmatched since her days as mistress of an empire. Her commander, Leosthenes, was voted commander-in-chief of the allied forces at a council formed for the war; he led an army drawn widely enough from the Greek states for contemporaries to cast the clash as 'the Hellenic War'.[37] For many Athenians, this time must have seemed a return to the glory-days of the fifth century when Athens, the champion of Greek independence, stood at the head of resistance to the Persian foe. It was a struggle which she stood a fair chance of winning. The Macedonian world was in turmoil. Alexander had left no obvious immediate successor, and the competing claims of rival factions at court produced an unlikely compromise: a joint kingship between Alexander's

[36] The Harpalus episode is discussed in detail by Blackwell 1999; see also Worthington 1992. The interplay between the Exiles' Edict, the arrival of Harpalus and Athens' move towards rebellion is much debated: compare, for example, Ashton 1983, and Worthington 1994.

[37] On the phraseology, see *IG* ii^2 448 l.45 with Ashton 1984.

infant son, Alexander IV, and his mentally deficient half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus. Neither of these 'kings' was competent to exercise power in his own right, and the institution of a regency—assumed at Babylon by the former bodyguard Perdiccas—could be expected to ferment internal struggles within the Macedonian ranks. The stability of Macedonian power on the Greek mainland itself was even more perilous. The regent Antipater had been summoned to Alexander's court in the east in the last months of the king's life, and at the time of Alexander's death the esteemed Macedonian general, Craterus, was on his way home to relieve Antipater of his post. In this state of transition, Macedonian hegemony over the Greek states looked particularly vulnerable; indeed Demades, alluding to Antipater's hold on power at this time, pictured Greece as "hanging by a rotten old thread" (Plut. *Phoc.* 30.5, *Dem.* 31.3–4).

As it turned out, Athenian optimism proved unfounded. After the crushing of the Greek fleet by the Macedonian admiral, Cleitus, in July 322, soon followed by Antipater's decisive land victory at Crannon in Thessaly, the war was over. After his vital reduction of the Hellenic army, Antipater—together with Craterus, who had reached the mainland and joined forces with him—set about imposing terms on the vanquished. The states were to negotiate individually, and Athens was among the last to seek an accommodation with the victors. The city sent an embassy to Thebes, where the Macedonians stood poised to invade Attica. Many of the Athenian envoys are named, and chief among them was Phocion, the very general who had cautioned against the war a year earlier. Also serving was Demades, whose civic rights had to be reinstated to legitimise his ambassadorial appointment since he had been disqualified from political life after his proposal to recognise Alexander as a god in 324.

Of greatest moment for our purposes, however, is the fact that the young Demetrius of Phalerum served as an envoy. It is the first specific event with which his name is connected, and in the absence of evidence about his prior political engagement, the motivation for his inclusion must remain unclear. Phocion was an obvious appointment given his earlier advocacy of appeasement towards Macedon; so too Demades, who had on several earlier occasions counselled a pragmatic accommodation with Macedon. A third envoy, Callimedon, is still more conspicuous for his Macedonian leanings, a stance which had brought him into open opposition to the Athenian democracy: a land-owner in Macedon and perhaps a proxenos of that state, he had allegedly been involved in covert machinations at Megara aiming at

the overthrow of the Athenian democracy in the turmoil following Alexander's 'Exiles' Decree', and upon the outbreak of the Lamian War he had deserted to Antipater's camp, publicly advocating Macedonian hegemony in Greece.[38] Similar political inclinations may account for the young Demetrius' inclusion in the embassy, but other factors cannot be discounted. His earliest renown, indeed, seems to have been earned as a philosopher and rhetorician of Aristotle's Peripatos; his intellectual prowess and flair for rhetoric are both well documented in the historical tradition (Demetr. 1, 2, 8–9 SOD), and both would have recommended him for the delicate negotiations now required. The connection with the Peripatos was a particular boon since Antipater himself had close ties with Aristotle.[39] In addition, a familial association with Phocion may have recommended Demetrius for the task; the anecdotal tradition linking Demetrius to the household of Conon and Timotheus has been noted above, and Timotheus' son, Conon, was a prominent adherent of Phocion (Plut. *Phoc.* 18.64.5).

Demetrius and his fellow envoys had no easy task, and their misgivings are apparent from the fact that, despite having plenipotentiary powers, the envoys returned to Athens after a first meeting with Antipater to seek the imprimatur of the *dêmos* to proceed with negotiations.[40] That initial meeting with the conquerors had not boded well for Athens: unconditional surrender was the starting point insisted upon by Antipater—a mocking echo of the Athenian general, Leosthenes, who had demanded the absolute surrender of Antipater's forces when the fortunes of war had fleetingly favoured the Greeks in the previous year. Unable to do otherwise, the Athenians granted

---

[38] For Callimedon's property at Berrhoea, [Aesch.] *Ep.* 12.8, with Davies 1971, no. 8157 IIIA for his possible proxeny status. His plots at Megara are alleged at Din. 1.94; the existence of such plots at this time are further insinuated throughout the speeches that accompanied the investigation of the 'Harpalus affair': so Din. 2.4, 3.1, Hyp. 3.13. For his move to join Antipater, Plut. *Demos.* 27.2. Little wonder, then, that Plutarch (*Phoc.* 27.5) calls him *misodêmos*, and Lucian (*Dem. Enc.* 46) cites him as an exemplum of Macedonian partisanship.

[39] Aristotle and Antipater maintained a correspondence until the former's death (fragments in Rose 1966 nos. 663–69), and Aristotle named Antipater as the executor of his will (Diog. Laert. 5.11–16). Their close relations are supposed by the tradition (Plut. *Alex.* 77.3, Arr. 7.27.1) that makes the pair complicit in the murder of Alexander the Great.

[40] Plut. *Phoc.* 27.1 (cf. 26.2 for the powers delegated to the envoys). The envoys' hesitation is understandable: other similarly equipped missions had been prosecuted for accepting unfavourable peace terms once the *dêmos* had forgotten the crisis that had occasioned the negotiations: see Mosely 1973, 30–31.

permission to their envoys to treat on those terms, and the embassy went once more to Thebes. The flurry of honours showered by the Athenians on the Macedonian court was to no avail.[41] The settlement imposed was a severe one, far harsher than that stipulated by Philip after Chaeronea. The terms are listed by both Plutarch (*Phoc.* 27.3) and Diodorus (18.18.4–6). A formal friendship (*philia*) and alliance (*symmakhia*) with Antipater were offered, but the price was heavy. The orators who had fermented the war were to be surrendered; a fine was to be paid in reparation for the costs of the war; the city was to be subject to a Macedonian garrison on Munychia, overlooking the Piraeus port. The fate of the Samians, whose repatriation had still not been effected at the time of Alexander's death, was referred to the new regent at Babylon, Perdiccas; towards the end of 322, he gave his ruling and upheld Alexander's verdict, releasing Samos from Athenian control. Athens also lost Oropus, the border territory granted to her by Philip in 338. By the close of 322, a garrison was resident on Munychia,[42] a constant and visible reminder of the city's subjection, and Antipater remained unmoved by the constant agitation for its removal. In a gesture acknowledging her submission, the city symbolically renounced the rebellion that she had so enthusiastically led by destroying the *stêlai* honouring her comrades in the war.[43]

Under the settlement accepted by Demetrius and his fellow envoys, Athens found herself in a position much reduced from that which she had enjoyed under Alexander. No longer an important member of a nominally autonomous League, the city was now under the more direct control of the Macedonian generals in Greece, and that direct control was immediately expressed through Antipater's far-reaching interference in the very constitution of Athens itself. His central requirement was the restriction of full citizenship rights to those Athenians in possession of at least two thousand drachmas. The citizen body was reduced to nine thousand, but the number of those disenfranchised remains disputed: Plutarch puts the figure at twelve thousand, Diodorus at twenty-two thousand, and although modern scholarship has failed to reach a unanimously accepted solution to

[41] For assembly honours at this time, see Bosworth 1993.

[42] The Macedonians arrived amidst the throngs celebrating the Eleusinia in September: Plut. *Phoc.* 28.1.

[43] *IG* ii^2 448, the decree for Euphron (whose state, Sicyon, had been the first of the Peloponnesians to side with Athens—Diod. 18.11.2) was overturned.

the discrepancy, the higher figure is probably to be preferred.[44] What made Antipater's demand particularly odious was not just its scale, but the humiliating scope of the disenfranchisement: those falling below the census level were deemed *atimoi*, and thus denied some—if not all—political rights of citizenship (perhaps including assembly attendance).[45] With this enforced restriction of citizenship, Antipater had, in the eyes of many Athenians, created an oligarchy just as he had in other rebel cities throughout the Greek mainland.

This restriction of the citizen body was indeed a move away from the type of democracy that had been in operation since 403, a democracy in which all citizens had enjoyed access to assembly and jury duties, if not to the high offices of state. The change is reflected in the rhetoric of the new regime. Antipater styled the new citizenship qualification a return both to the ancestral Athenian constitution (*patrios politeia*) and to the laws of Solon. Both labels are notoriously slippery (the overthrow of Antipater's settlement itself could be heralded as a return to the "ancestral polity": so Plut. *Phoc.* 31.1),[46] but both could be applied to moderate, as distinct from radical, democracy. Some fourth-century sources, including the Aristotelian *Athênaiôn Politeia* (revised in the late 320s) characterised the constitution of Solon as similarly moderate, perhaps because Solonian law excluded the lowest income stratum of citizens from civic office (*Ath. Pol.* 29.3, with 7.3). Similarly, the tag *patrios politeia* is reminiscent of a restricted democracy: the regime of the five thousand, which rose briefly to power during Athens' accommodation with Sparta in 411, had advertised itself with the very same slogan. At that earlier time, in 411, the citizen body had been restricted to those wealthy enough to equip themselves with a hoplite panoply, and it has been suggested by some that the two thousand drachmas for citizenship stipulated by Antipater in 322 likewise equated to a hoplite census.[47]

---

[44] For detail, see below, 108ff. The disenfranchised were offered resettlement in Thrace.

[45] Plut. *Phoc.* 28.4, with further discussion below, 113–14. Antipater's policy is contextualised by Baynham 1994, 349–51, cf. 2003. Philip's treatment of Thebes after Chaeronea (on which see Gullath 1982, 7–19) may well have provided Antipater with a model.

[46] The *abolition* of a property census by Poliorcetes in 307 was hailed as a return to the *patrios politeia*: Diod. 20.46.3.

[47] Any identification with the old Athenian hoplite census is rendered questionable both by the uncertainties of putting a monetary value on the former class division of the hoplites, and by the fact that the same census level of 2000 drachmas was stipulated in contemporary, non-Athenian contexts such as the settlement imposed

The stated return to the *patrios politeia* may have entailed the revision of other aspects of the democracy, but the documentation is scanty. For example, it is often asserted—plausibly, although without firm evidence—that the quintessential platform of full democracy, namely the payment for jury service and for attendance at the assembly, was abolished with the introduction of property requirements for citizenship. The suspension of such remuneration would have discouraged participation in political processes, and may be the kernel of truth behind the rather extreme claim, found in the *Suda* (*s.v. Demadês*) that the law courts and the rhetorical contests were destroyed. Such changes, if in fact they were enacted under Antipater's settlement, would have represented major alterations to the substance of Athenian democracy. Some less momentous modifications of the machinery of state were implemented, including a rationalisation in some of the lesser offices—a rationalisation perhaps dictated by the reduced number of available citizens rather than by any ideological imperative.[48] For instance, through a decree passed in 319 (*IG* ii^2 380), the competence of the *agoranomoi* (officials concerned with the maintenance of order in the market-place) was enlarged to incorporate the regulation of streets and buildings formerly exercised by a board of *astunomoi*, in the Piraeus area at least.

More telling, at least from an ideological perspective, is the change in the official responsible for recording decrees passed by the assembly: the secretary, or *grammateus*, was replaced by an *anagrapheus*, whose name heads the inscriptions from this period of Antipater's control. (In the records of the period, indeed, the new *anagrapheus* took precedence even over the eponymous archon, whose name more normally

---

on Cyrene by Ptolemy Soter (on which, *SEG* 9.1). For further discussion of fourth-century citizenship restrictions and the hoplite census, see below, 115–16.

[48] A number of changes to the minor officials have been suggested in the literature, some more plausible than others. The *diaitêtai*, or arbitrators, on whom see [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.4 and *Lex. Cantab. s.vv. mê ousa dikê* (= Demetr. 97 SOD), may well have been abolished: so Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 1.224, and Rhodes 1993, 591. Less plausible is the suggestion by Ferguson 1911a, 24, that the eleven gaolers (*hoi hendeka*) were disbanded at this time; their continued existence is hinted at by Nepos who, at *Phoc.* 4.2, refers to *undecemviri* in the context of 318. (Wehrli 1962a, 383–84 sought to find further evidence of their ongoing existence in the Samian decree *IG* xii 6.1 42, in which *hoi hendeka* are mentioned in lines 19–24. This decree, however, belongs probably to the period before the establishment of the Antipatran oligarchy at Athens: so with slight differences, Errington 1975 and Bosworth 1988, 226). Evidence is lacking also for the abolition of the *apodektai*, as asserted by Ferguson 1911a, 23–24.

heads decree prescripts).[49] Of similar significance would be a change from sortition to election for the major offices of state, such as the archonship. On this latter point, however, the indicators are contradictory: the only corroboration comes from Diodorus' claim (18.18.4) that those retaining the franchise were to "have control of the government and *kheirotonia*" (where the word *kheirotonia* (election) may be significant), and this is counterbalanced to some extent by the apparent obscurity of the archons of this period.[50] Of Archippus (archon, 321/20), Neaechmus (320/19) and Apollodorus (319/18), nothing is known beyond their tenure of office. The profiles of some of the *anagrapheis*, on the other hand, give a rather different impression:[51] apart from his career as a comic poet, Archedicus (*anagrapheus*, 320/19) had a record of conciliation towards Macedon, having earlier proposed honours for Macedonians in the entourage of the king and Antipater;[52] Thrasycles (*anagrapheus* 321/20) similarly reappears as the proposer of honours for Macedonians, this time for Asander, then satrap of Caria, in 314/13 (*IG* ii² 450, on which see below, 260–62). Even given such political and familial pedigrees, we are some way from being able to demonstrate that sortition was abolished generally, or that office-bearers under the

---

[49] For general discussion and listing of the evidence see still Dow 1963, esp. 44–51.

[50] The claim by Plutarch (*Phoc.* 29.4) that Phocion "kept the men of education and culture always in office" (*tous men asteious kai kharientas en tais arkhais aei suneikhe*) should probably not be taken as an allusion to direct electoral manipulation or interference, but rather as a reflection of the impact of the restriction of political rights to the wealthier strata of society. It may also (so Gehrke 1976, 102) indicate an indirect and unofficial influence over the selection of some officials, such as generals.

[51] Oliver 2003, 50 expresses similar suspicions. Archedicus and Thrasycles were clearly politicly active men. On current evidence, however, the same is not so for Eucadmus (*anagrapheus* 319/18), whose only other claim to prominence may be descent from one of the sculptors of the Erechtheum; for the identification, see Morgan 2002.

[52] *IG* ii² 402 + *Agora* 1 4990. The motion will date either to the period after Chaeronaea (Tracy 1993) or to the immediate aftermath of Crannon (so Bosworth 1993). For Archedicus' political career with its tendency towards sympathy with the Macedonian cause, see Habicht 1993, and below, 133–37. The one potentially anomalous act of this career is Archedicus' proposal of honours to a Heracleot individual in the democratic period after Phocion's fall (so *Agora* XVI 104, on which see further 243 n. 3). This decree, with its honours generally associated with Heraclea's support for Athens in the Lamian War, is seen by Tracy 1993, 251 as demonstrating Archedicus' adroit navigation of Athens' 'ever-changing political waters'. Honours for Lamian War allies are, in fact, an ambiguous political index: Phocion's oligarchy would both overturn previous honours for war allies (the decree for Euphron of Sicyon is the famous instance here), but at the same time offer sanctuary to members of other allied states whose members found themselves expelled from their native cities by Antipater's settlements (*IG* ii² 545 for Thessalians, *IG* ii² 546 for Dolopians).

regime were puppets of Macedon. When the regime was toppled after Antipater's death, the only officials sufficiently implicated in the regime to suffer directly seem to have been the generals, who were immediately removed from office; other officials, such as archons and *anagrapheis*, retained their positions.[53]

One of the most oppressive consequences of Antipater's settlement (apart from the restriction of citizenship rights) seems to have stemmed, in fact, not from any formal demand, but from the ensuing *de facto* control of Athenian affairs by a clique of men linked by personal ties to Antipater. Demades, for example, came to great prominence: he is named as the author of around half of the surviving decrees of Antipater's regime in Athens, prompting one source to view him as the instrument through which the 322 settlement was implemented. (So the *Index Acad. Herc.* col. 8 ll.3–4: Demades 'set up the constitution (*to politeuma*)'.) Even more prominent was Phocion, whom Plutarch portrays as Antipater's agent, or *epimelêtês*, within the city (see especially *Phoc.* 29.4). We need not posit any extraordinary offices behind the exercise of authority, despite Diodorus' claim (18.65.1) that Phocion held "supreme authority under Antipater"; he served the city some forty-five times as a general, and he seems to have functioned in this official capacity after 322.[54] The legal nicety in the formal retention of a purely Athenian office does nothing, however, to minimise Phocion's real rôle as an intermediary between the city and Antipater. It was Phocion who

[53] Preference is here given to the version of Plut. *Phoc.* 33.2, who states that the restored assembly deposed the generals, over that of Diod. 18.65.6, who writes of a more general backlash against the magistrates. Epigraphical evidence supports Plutarch: Eucadmus the *anagrapheus* of 319/18 who was in office during the collapse of the regime is demoted on decree prescripts, from an initial precedence over the archon (*SEG* 21.310) at the start of his term, to a lower profile in inscriptions after the fall (thus *IG* ii^2 386), but he is not expelled altogether. A change in officials is witnessed only at the regular time (i.e. at the beginning of the new archon year) and does not thus seem to be tied closely to the fall of the 'oligarchy'. For discussion of the date of the oligarchy's collapse, see 37 n. 69.

[54] This, at least, accords with the testimony of Plutarch who, while charting the downfall of Antipater's regime, cites first a decree which entrusted the Athenian army to Phocion's orders, and later records that the Athenians deposed Phocion and chose *other generals* (*Phoc.* 32.5; 33.2). It is consistent too with Nepos (*Phoc.* 2.4), who asserts that Phocion exercised the 'highest command, *by order of the populace*' (the office of general being an elected post). His prominence is easily ascribed to the esteem in which many high-ranking Macedonians had long held Phocion, and to the pragmatism that he had often displayed in his dealings with Macedon: see Plut. *Phoc.* 18.1; 22.3 also Plut. *Phoc.* 18.4–5; Ael. *V.H.* 1.25. Demades' importance in these years can also be ascribed to personal relationships (see Plut. *Phoc.* 30.2). Demades' importance in the regime is treated in full by Williams 1989.

eventually persuaded Antipater to postpone collection of the war fine and to relax the conditions of exile imposed on the more vociferous champions of conflict with Macedon. Again, it was to Phocion that the Athenians first turned in the hope of removing the Macedonian garrison from Munychia, although he proved unwilling to act on his fellow-citizens' urgings in this matter. Around Phocion himself is ranged a shadowy clique of men, men not known to have held official positions but whose political power was such that they were condemned to death when Phocion fell. Charicles, Nicocles, Hegemon, Pythocles: these are men listed by Plutarch as being condemned with Phocion, and all have familial ties with Phocion or a history of accommodation of Macedonian interests; for none can we document any official position after the 322 settlement.[55]

Phocion and his *de facto* cabal might not have formally overturned the democratic institution (indeed, the years of Antipater's dominance are documented by a considerable epigraphical output by the assembly), but this need not make their influence any the less real.[56] There is little doubt about the disdain in which the regime was, as a result, held by the majority of Athenians. Far from instituting a return to a respectable ancestral Athenian constitution, Antipater's settlement recalled more closely an earlier period of subservience to a foreign power. The restriction of citizenship, the imposition of a garrison, the creation of an *anagrapheus*: all these were reminiscent of the dark days of the regime of the five-thousand in 411 when Athens, at a low ebb in its war against Sparta, had suffered an oligarchic revolution.[57] For the Athenians themselves, Antipater's *patrios politeia* was nothing short of oligarchy, and the men who acceded to Antipater's terms and served

---

[55] The condemnation of Demetrius of Phalerum, and of other envoys such as Callimedon, is discussed below. Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law (Plut. *Phoc.* 21.4; 22.1–3), Nicocles his long-standing friend (Tritle 1988, 107 with references). Hegemon is named by [Aeschines] as having Macedonian connections (*Ep.* 12.8), and he passed a law on the Theoricon aimed perhaps at curbing the influence of Demosthenes (so Aesch. 3.25). Pythocles (on whom see Davies 1971, no. 12444) may be the man of that name alleged by Demosthenes 18.285, 19.225, 314 to be a partisan of Philip of Macedon.

[56] One might note the mechanisms outlined by Calhoun 1964, 112f by which Athenian coteries could influence politics and elections. Oliver 2003, esp. 41–42, reviews the epigraphical output of the assembly, which is quite substantial; he does note, however, that many of the decrees are apparently non-probouleumatic, a fact that may betoken a decreased level of activity by the *boulê* and thereby reflect an oligarchic quality of the regime.

[57] On the *anagrapheis* in 411, see [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 30.1.

under his regime little more than traitors to the democracy. When Antipater's settlement was repealed in 318, the charge upon which Phocion and his associates were condemned to death was that of overthrowing the *dêmos*, and of oligarchy.[58]

How Demetrius of Phalerum personally regarded Antipater's settlement is not revealed by our sources, who in fact largely pass over Demetrius' involvement and thus have little to say about his individual contribution to the negotiations.[59] The tradition ascribes to one single envoy a vocal opposition to the terms. Xenocrates, the scholarch of the Academy, had been a late addition to the embassy, the Athenians hoping (unsuccessfully) that his virtue and reputation would sway Antipater to clemency; he is said to have dismissed Antipater's demands as "fit for slaves but not for free men" (Plut. *Phoc.* 27.4).[60] Demetrius is presumably to be included among the other envoys who, continues Plutarch, considered the terms 'humane' (*philanthrôpous*), and certainly he was implicated in the ensuing oligarchy in the eyes of his fellow Athenians, who included him among those charged with the overthrow of democracy when the political tide turned in 319/18 (Plut. *Phoc.* 35.5, Nepos *Phoc.* 3.1–2 = Demetr. 15A & B SOD). On the other hand, it may have been culpability as an envoy alone that earned his condemnation for overthrowing the *dêmos* in 318,[61] and there are reasons for caution before attributing to Demetrius an unequivocal enthusiasm for the peace terms. The one and only glimpse we have of his ambassadorial activity (preserved not in a historical work but in a rhetorical treatise: Demetrius *De Elocutione* 289 = Demetr. 12 SOD) records Demetrius belittling Antipater's victorious colleague Craterus:

[58] Plut. *Phoc.* 34.3–4; Diod. 18.65.6, 66.5. For similar descriptions of the regime as oligarchic see *IG* ii^2 448 l.161, [Plut.] *Mor.* 851c, Diod. 18.55.2.

[59] The main sources, Plut. *Phoc.* 26–27 and Diod. 18.17–18, do not even mention Demetrius. His participation is known only from Demetrius *On Style* 289 (= Demetr. 12 SOD) and from Demetr. 131A–C.

[60] Demetrius' attitude to the conduct of the embassy, if not to the terms it accepted, is greatly complicated by a series of allusions by Demetrius himself, in some of his rhetorical treatises, to Xenocrates' behaviour as an envoy (see Demetr. 131A–C SOD). The belief of Dorandi 1997 that Demetrius' verdict on Xenocrates was hostile is not the only (and perhaps not the preferable) reading of the very fragmentary and dispersed testimonia.

[61] Some of those others named among the condemned, most notably Callimedon, had similarly served as envoys, and it is with Callimedon that Demetrius is particularly bracketed in Plutarch's list of the condemned at *Phoc.* 35.2.

> When [Craterus] was receiving the embassies of the Greeks with insolent arrogance, sitting on a golden couch high above everyone else and clad in a purple robe, [Demetrius] said to him, using a figure of speech to convey a reproach, that 'we too once received as ambassadors these men and *this* (*touton*) Craterus.' In the demonstrative 'this' all the insolence of Craterus stands implicitly rebuked through the use of a figure.

Antipater's demands, moreover, imposed a great personal loss on Demetrius. Among those Athenian orators and politicians whose condemnation was demanded was Demetrius' own brother, Himeraeus. When Alexander had issued a similar demand in 335, Demades had staved off the executions with some delicate diplomacy (Diod. 17.15.4); this time, however, Demades would move a proposal for a death sentence through the Athenian assembly. Himeraeus would be hunted down and slain, dragged from the sanctuary of Aeacus on Aegina by the Macedonians (Phot. *Bibl.* 92 69b34–40, Plut. *Demos.* 28.4 = Demetr. 13A & B SOD); with him would perish the renowned orator Hyperides, while Demosthenes would take his own life.[62] Whatever the political differences between the brothers, this must have been a blow to Demetrius, and a stain upon his personal reputation (one that his enemies do seem to have exploited: see further 211ff). The degree, then, of Demetrius' personal acquiescence in, and approval of, Antipater's settlement cannot be determined. It may not be entirely due to chance that, unlike Phocion and Demades, he is not recorded as having played an active or important role in the ensuing oligarchy, and that he is not accused with Phocion and Demades of collusion in the settlement by later sources such as Nepos (*Phoc.* 2.2) and Pausanias (7.10.4).

Whatever Demetrius' personal sentiments, it remains a settlement that would shape his political future, and that of his city. The political world that he had entered through his stint as an envoy had changed markedly from the world of his youth. The settlement that Antipater had imposed upon Athens had increased the city's subordination to him, and bound her fate yet more closely with that Macedonian's individual fortunes. Yet at the same time, the nature of Macedonian power itself had changed with the death of Alexander. No longer was there a single absolute ruler to whom Athens should yield, or against whom she needs must rebel. Nominal rule after the death of Alexander had

[62] The odium caused by this spate of executions is revealed in the number of sources in which it is recorded: compare Plut. *Phoc.* 27.3, Arr. *FGrHist.* 156 F9.13, *Suda s.v. Antipatros*, Plut. *Demos.* 28, [Plut.] *Mor.* 849b, 851e, Lucian *Dem. Enc.* 31.

devolved upon his mentally impaired half-brother, Arrhidaeus, and upon his posthumously born son, Alexander IV. Neither was fit to rule, and the regency assumed by Perdiccas (Alexander's close confidante, and the man to whom the dying king had entrusted his signet ring)[63] was patently a short-term solution. Leadership of the Macedonian world was fragmenting, and that disintegration offered opportunities, but also raised new dilemmas, for the cities of the Greek mainland.

Athens was soon to be drawn into the Diadochan turmoil, with Antipater proving ready to invoke the *symmakhia* and enlist the city's resources. Athens' sole naval mobilisation attested during the period of Antipater's supremacy seems to have been undertaken in the service of one of his allies, Antigonus Monophthalmus, in an internecine fight between the Macedonian marshals. Our evidence comes from the Athenian decree *IG* ii^2 682 (a decree passed much later, probably in the mid-250s).[64] Honouring the Athenian Phaedrus of Sphettus, *IG* ii^2 682 records, in its early lines, the career of Phaedrus' father Thymochares, a general active in the late fourth century. Of the listed campaigns, Thymochares' first—an action against one Hagnon of Teos in the waters off Cyprus—should probably be assigned to 321, and understood as part of a campaign waged against the regent Perdiccas.[65] Not content to rule through his two regal charges, Perdiccas had begun to threaten the autonomy and power bases of his Diadochan peers,[66] and Antipater and Antigonus Monophthalmus were acting in concert to curtail his ambitions. The Athenians' mobilisation in 321 was probably in the company of an Antigonid fleet. Thus are revealed the military consequences for Athens of the alliance that she forged with Antipater in 322: the city's resources could be drawn in to serve Antipater's agenda in interne-

---

[63] On Perdiccas, see Heckel 1992, 134–63.

[64] The inscription is much edited and discussed as *IG* ii^2 682 + Addendum p. 664 + *SEG* 15.102; 28.62; 29.102 and 107. Its dating formulae are lost, and there have been markedly different reconstructions of the *political* context in which *IG* ii^2 682 was moved, although a temporal context of the mid-250s has generally met with favour: Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 52 n. 113 cites the most important contributions, to which must be added Dreyer 1999, 103ff, 189ff.

[65] The historical context of Thymochares' campaign is controversial: my argumentation for the date and interpretation stated here is set forth below, 254ff.

[66] The division of power that had followed Alexander's death at Babylon had effectively given Perdiccas control over the forces in Asia, while Antipater and Craterus retained some kind of control over the Balkans (for discussion, see Bosworth 1988, 175). Perdiccas' attempts to expand his authority at the expense of the other Diadochan commanders are narrated by Diod. 18.23ff.

cine conflicts among the Macedonian élite, disputes about the wielding of Macedonian power among Macedonians. This is a far cry from the mobilisation of Athenian ships under the banner of the League of Corinth in Alexander's invasion of the Persian empire: however specious a pretext for aggression, that Panhellenic campaign had at least resonated with Athens' own past aspirations. Macedonian domination of the city was now being much more candidly displayed.

That domination of itself invited attack from rival claimants for control over the city. While Antipater lived, Athens remained firmly in his grip, but the situation changed dramatically with his death in late summer/early autumn, 319. At his death, Antipater had been both guardian of the two nominal Macedonian kings (having gained this post after the death of Perdiccas in 320) and supreme commander of the Macedonian army. He had nominated a successor, one Polyperchon, whom Diodorus (18.48.4) describes as "almost the oldest of those who had campaigned with Alexander." But Antipater's ambitious son, Cassander, was unwilling to settle for the lesser post that had been assigned him. Upon his father's death, he moved at once to oust Polyperchon. Secretly, he canvassed support from the Egyptian satrap Ptolemy, from the Macedonian nobility, and from regimes allied to Antipater in Greece. Within Greece, Athens was a priority. Cassander installed his partisan, Nicanor, as commander of the Munychia garrison even before news of Antipater's death had a chance to reach the city.[67] Cassander then crossed the Hellespont to court successfully the support of Antigonus Monophthalmus, who was fast emerging as the most powerful of the Macedonian generals in Asia.

Polyperchon, as new regent, had some key advantages over his would-be usurper. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great and an inveterate opponent of the house of Antipater, soon adhered to his cause, while within Macedonia many nobles also supported him. He was nonetheless caught off-guard by Cassander's manoeuvres. Backed by vital military support from Ptolemy and Antigonus, Cassander had apparently secured the allegiances of many Greek oligarchies created by his father, and Polyperchon quickly found himself forced to overturn the administrative arrangements made in 322 by the very man who had appointed him as his successor. In the name of the Macedonian

[67] Nicanor was probably Cassander's nephew, not (as was once thought) the homonymous nephew of Aristotle. See Bosworth 1994.

kings, Polyperchon thus announced to an assembly of envoys from the Greek states a restoration of democratic governments: exiles were to be returned to their native cities by the end of the Macedonian month of Xandicus (ca. March) in 318 (Diod. 18.55.2–56.8). Athens was given an added inducement to side with Polyperchon when he declared Samos an exception to the general repatriation; the island was to be once more an Athenian possession.

Polyperchon's 'Exiles' Edict' had an immediate impact in Athens, where the planned restoration of exiles would restore the democratic constitution. The pronouncement also encouraged the city to believe that the Macedonian garrison would be removed, although Polyperchon had made no such explicit promise. At Munychia, Cassander's agent Nicanor came under greatly increased pressure to quit his post. Instead, assisted by the masterly inactivity of Phocion (who refused repeated requests from the Athenian assembly to seize him), Nicanor prevaricated long enough to capture the Piraeus walls and harbour boom through secret nocturnal sorties from Munychia. The Athenians appealed in outrage to the old Macedonian queen, Olympias, who sent missives ordering the restoration of Munychia and the Piraeus to the Athenians. Nicanor again delayed.

The Athenians thought that their troubles were over when an army, led by Polyperchon's son, Alexander, descended into Attica in the company of many citizens exiled under Antipater's settlement. Yet even then, the downfall of Antipater's settlement was not assured. Phocion, no doubt recognising that Polyperchon's 'Exiles' Edict' had been determined merely by political expediency, sought to engineer some accommodation between Nicanor and Polyperchon's son. The substance of their *in camera* meetings is not disclosed by the sources, but the Athenians themselves suspected that Polyperchon's Alexander intended only to transfer the garrisons to his own control. The Athenian assembly then hastily convened to secure at least the restoration of democracy. The Athenian generals were deposed, and it is at this point that those most closely associated with the regime were condemned to exile or to death.

Some of those implicated fled. Demetrius of Phalerum apparently sought safety with Nicanor (Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD),[68] a move that was to have a profound impact on his subsequent career.

[68] That his residence with Nicanor belongs to this interval is suggested by Plutarch's notice (*Phoc.* 3.5.2 = Demetr. 15A SOD) that Demetrius was condemned to death *in absentia*.

Others, including Phocion himself, went to Polyperchon (then lodged in Phocis) to plead their cause; significantly, they carried letters of introduction from Alexander, who urged his father to deal leniently with them since they espoused a willingness to act in his interests. Like Alexander, Polyperchon was keen to retain Munychia and the Piraeus under Macedonian arms, but he was bound by his own edict to restore Athens' liberty. Unwilling to risk alienating the other Greek states by maintaining those associated with the oligarchy, then, Polyperchon eventually upheld the right of the Athenian assembly to try and to condemn Antipater's old associates. The resolutions of the ensuing turbulent assembly in Athens attest to the odium in which the Antipatran settlement had been held. Upon returning to Athens, Phocion and his remaining adherents were compelled to drink the hemlock, and their remains were cast unburied beyond the boundaries of Attica.

The death of Phocion, which Plutarch (*Phoc.* 37.1) dates to 19 Munychion (early May) 318, ushered in a new chapter in the history of the city.[69] The Athenians believed that they were to regain the liberties—the *autonomia*, the *eleutheria*, the freedom from garrisons—that they had enjoyed under Alexander the Great,[70] and democracy was indeed restored: in essence, this meant the abolition of a property qualification for citizenship rights. Under the guidance

[69] The date of the change of regime adopted here is that defended by Williams 1984, and Bosworth 1992, against the revised dating to 317 advocated by Errington 1977. Errington was unwilling to accept that the *anagrapheis* remained in office, albeit less prominently than before, after the change of regime (on which, see above, n. 53), and for this he appealed to the testimony of Diod. 18.65.6, where the revitalised assembly removes from office all magistrates. But Errington's chronology cannot stand, requiring as it does lengthy delays which are hard to reconcile with our narratives. Events were moving quickly after Antipater's death in June, 319, and when Polyperchon ordained a restoration in the month of Xandicus for those Greeks exiled by Antipater, it must have been 318 that was meant. Polyerchon's son, Alexander, will have brought the returning exiles by late winter / early spring 318 and Phocion was deposed almost immediately afterwards. His visit to Polyperchon (the attempt to avert his fate and win Polyperchon's backing) will not have required much time: as Bosworth 1992, 69 notes, an embassy taking 26 days to reach Macedon in 346 had been regarded as scandalously protracted; Phocion's embassy, with less distance to travel and a sentence of death threatening, will not have been even this long, let alone the months required by Errington. Independent corroboration of the timing is suggested by *IG* ii^2 387, a decree moved in the tenth prytany of 319/18, in which honours are paid to certain individuals at the instigation of Polyperchon; this is a decree consistent with the presence of a restored democracy indebted to Polyperchon.

[70] As reported by Diodorus, Polyperchon's decree made no explicit reference to the fundamental freedoms of *autonomia* and *eleutheria*. But Athens certainly believed that these were in the spirit of the edict, and by the spring of 318, these key phrases do feature in Polyperchon's dealings with the city: see Diod. 18.64.3–5, 18.66.2.

of a demagogue named Hagnonides, who had spent the years under Antipater in exile, this resurgent democracy advertised its liberty by reaffirming honours granted to allies from the Lamian War (such as those for Euphron of Sicyon—*IG* ii^2 448), honours which had been rescinded when the city fell in 322. But these celebrated freedoms proved ephemeral, depending as they did on a continued ascendancy of Polyperchon over Cassander that was far from assured. Not long after the execution of Phocion, Cassander appeared in the Piraeus with a thirty-five ship fleet supplied by Antigonus Monophthalmus. Welcomed by Nicanor, who had still not relinquished his garrison post, Cassander used the Athenian harbour as a base to launch attacks on Salamis. The arrival of his rival drew Polyperchon down into Attica, but a shortage of supplies prevented his laying siege to the Piraeus. Polyperchon thus soon moved off with the bulk of his army to try his hand against Megalopolis, a central Peloponnesian city which remained under the sway of another oligarchy installed by Antipater; he maintained contact with Athens, however, (a restored honorific inscription from this time may allude to recommendations sent to Athens by Polyperchon),[71] and he left his son, Alexander, in Attica with a small force.

Until the closing stages of the 318 campaign season, the balance of power in Greece rested with Polyperchon. His 'Exiles' Edict' had won over the Peloponnesian cities with the sole named exception of Megalopolis; by contrast Cassander, having failed to take Salamis, is stated only to have secured the allegiance of Aegina. But the military climate throughout Greece began to change rapidly in late 318. Megalopolis proved able to withstand attack, and Polyperchon, unwilling to remain ensconced in the Peloponnese for a protracted period, repaired to "more necessary business" (so Diod. 18.72.1) in Macedon. His failure at Megalopolis tarnished his military credentials in the eyes of the Greeks, and his inglorious abandonment of the siege directly prompted the widespread defection of Greek cities from his cause.

Coupled with the debacle at Megalopolis was the ultimate defeat of Polyperchon's fleet in late 318. Withdrawing from the Peloponnese, Polyperchon had sent his admiral, Cleitus, to the Hellespont to halt the progress of soldiers coming from Asia to aid Cassander's cause in

[71] *IG* ii^2 387 + *Addendum* p. 660 (= Osborne 1981a, D35) ll.8–9. The decree dates to mid-June, 318.

Greece. Cleitus achieved an initial, significant victory over the navy that Nicanor was commanding for Cassander. Antigonus Monophthalmus, however, then honoured his undertaking to help Cassander. Soon reinforced by Antigonid ships and infantry, the Cassandran fleet inflicted a comprehensive defeat upon Cleitus' force in a surprise retaliatory raid off Byzantium.[72]

Dependent as it was on Polyperchon's support, the Athenian democracy was severely undermined by these setbacks. The demolition of Cleitus' fleet was felt particularly keenly there, since Nicanor returned in triumph to the Piraeus, the prows of his fleet festooned with the beaks of Cleitus' captured ships.[73] This highly visible display of naval superiority must have had an adverse impact in the city, a city that was already doubting Polyperchon's capacity to oust Cassander from the Piraeus. Athenian appeals to Polyperchon and Olympias proved fruitless, and when Polyperchon remained in Macedon in early 317 and showed no immediate inclination to march south, not only his ability, but also his intention, to remove the garrison may have been called into question. Polyperchon's championing of the Athenian democracy had, after all, been merely pragmatic, a support dictated in 319/18 by Cassander's challenge to his authority, and that pragmatism had been amply hinted at by his son's readiness to compromise with Phocion. The on-going commitment to the military liberation of Athens was much in question.

By early 317, then, the prospects for the removal of the garrison appeared remote, and the existing situation (with the city divided from the Piraeus) could not be maintained indefinitely. The garrison may have begun to impinge upon food supplies in Athens, by both hampering trade and interfering with harvesting.[74] Moreover, Alexander

---

[72] See Diod. 18.72.3–9; Polyaen. 4.6.8 for the engagements. The Marmor Parium *FGrHist*. 239 B16 erroneously assigns this naval activity to 317/16 rather than 318/17; for the correct date, see Bosworth 1992, 70, 74.

[73] On first reading, Diodorus' narrative (18.75.1) implies that Nicanor's triumphant return to the Piraeus took place after the Athenian democracy had fallen. However, the return is a retrospective detail inserted at the point properly applying only to Nicanor's death, which did indeed occur after Cassander's settlement with Athens. There is no reason for believing that Nicanor did not return to Athens immediately after his victory over Cleitus in late 318.

[74] A hostile Piraeus garrison interfered with provisioning and harvesting in Attica in the third century: the decree for Callias of Sphettus (Shear 1978, ll.24ff) documents just such an occurrence; Osborne 1979, 186 finds a reference to the Macedonian garrison creating difficulties for harvest collection in *IG* ii^2 682 ll.30ff, esp. l.33.

may have already quit Attica with Polyperchon's remaining troops; their departure is not explicitly noted by Diodorus, whose work provides the sole narrative source for this period of Athenian affairs, but these troops reappear in late 317 in the Peloponnese, and they may have been lured there early in that year by food shortages in Attica and by unrest in the south. Without any prospect of military relief, and perhaps subject to increasing military pressure (on which, below 242–45 for detail), Athens was compelled to seek an accommodation with Cassander by mid-317.

Demetrius of Phalerum steps forth from the shadows again in the ensuing negotiations with Cassander, negotiations for which he seems to have been the chosen Athenian representative. At least, *IG* ii[2] 1201 (= Demetr. 16B SOD, ll.8ff), a decree from the deme Axione honouring Demetrius, does seem to indicate that he served as the city's intermediary, although the reference to the ambassadorship is almost entirely a restoration:[75] Demetrius

> acted as an ambassador, reconciling the Athenians and again bringing them back to the former condition of unity and effecting peace for the Athenians and their country…

It may be that he was the most senior of those still in Attica who had formerly dealt with Cassander's father, Antipater. Of those whose association with Phocion was sufficiently close to warrant their condemnation in early 318, only three who escaped execution are named by Plutarch, these being Callimedon, Charicles and Demetrius of Phalerum. Callimedon and Charicles had fled Athens, and apparently never returned: at least, neither is again attested after the fall of Phocion. By sheltering with Nicanor, presumably in the Munychia garrison, Demetrius by contrast would have maintained his proximity to Athens and retained contact with Cassander himself. His established connection with the household of Antipater made him an obvious choice as a negotiator in 317. The Athenians, wanting an envoy to whom Cassander would have been sympathetic, may have overturned Demetrius' outstanding conviction for oligarchy and reinstated his citizenship, just as Demades had been restored to citizenship in order to act as Athenian ambassador to Antipater in 321.

---

[75] So *IG* ii[2] 1201 l.8 with Dittenberger's restoration [*presbeus*]*as*. Köhler supplemented the line differently. In favour of Dittenberger's wording, one might note the echoes of Diod. 18.74.1–2, where are preserved the resolutions made in the assembly in which the decision to negotiate with Cassander was originally taken. The Aixone decree might have been consciously framed to echo the initial assembly resolutions.

In their political aspect, the terms negotiated with Cassander in 317 and detailed for us by Diodorus (18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD) were markedly similar to those imposed on Athens in 322 by Antipater. A close correspondence between the two settlements is unsurprising: Cassander's claim to power was legitimated by his paternal inheritance, and his continuation of Antipater's policies advertised that link. Athens again was to retain control of her existing possessions, delineated in the 317 settlement as comprising her revenues, navy and "everything else" (*alla panta*); friendship and alliance were granted. The surrender of the democratic agitators may have been another condition of settlement, just as the condemnations of Demosthenes and his associates had featured in Antipater's terms five years earlier, and Plutarch (*Phoc.* 38.1) does inform us of the condemnation at this time of two leading demagogues, Hagnonides and Demophilus.[76] But while such a condition certainly sits well with what is known of the character of Cassander, who seldom hesitated to remove anyone he perceived as a threat, no demand for the surrender of the democrats is explicitly stated in the records. About another condition, however, there is no ambiguity. A property qualification for citizenship was once more imposed, as it had been by Antipater, although the sum was relaxed to ten *minae* from the Antipatran twenty.

Diodorus further includes among Cassander's demands the imposition of an overseer, or *epimelêtês*, to be nominated by Cassander himself. That nominee was none other than Demetrius. So Diod. 18.74.2–3 = Demetr. 16A SOD:

> After several encounters they concluded peace on the following terms:... they were to appoint as overseer of the city one Athenian, who had the approval of Cassander. Demetrius of Phalerum was elected.[77]

Once again the continuity between Cassander's settlement and that of his father is apparent, both in the use of an *epimelêtês* and in the selection of a man with a prior association with Antipater.[78] That continuity is echoed in the language of Diodorus (18.18.4, 18.74.3 =

[76] Plutarch gives no exact context of these condemnations, but as he posits only a short interval between the death of Phocion and the executions of Hagnonides and Demophilus, these democratic extremists may have died very early in the Phalerean regime. On their deaths as a requirement from Cassander, see further below, 113.

[77] On his appointment compare *IG* ii^2 1202 (= Demetr. 16B SOD), with discussion at 96.

[78] On Phocion's position, see above, 30–31.

Demetr. 16A SOD), which may go back to his source:[79] the description of Antipater's 322 dealings as 'humane' (*philanthrôpôs*) finds a counterpart in the later description of Demetrius' rule as 'caring towards the citizens' (*pros tous politas philanthrôpôs*).

It was this act of preferment by Cassander that ushered in the period of Demetrius' ascendancy in Athenian politics. In the eyes of some, he would be a tyrant (so Pausanias 1.25.6 = Demetr. 17 SOD) or rule as virtual monarch (Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2 = Demetr. 18 SOD). From a strictly constitutional perspective such labels probably go too far, but the essential fact of pre-eminence that they describe must stand. Demetrius would, by virtue of his *epimeleia*, be the city's point of contact for its hegemon and indeed for other high-ranking Macedonians.[80] For the next ten years, it would be Demetrius of Phalerum, the man of obscure if not humble origins, the political parvenu, who would guide the fate of Athens through the often-turbulent waters of Greco-Macedonian politics.

Demetrius was faced with no easy task. The Athens over which he assumed control was one that had just lived through a period of radical fluctuations of fortune in military, economic and constitutional terms. The financial ebullience of the Lycurgan period had been critically strained by the cost of wars and by fines imposed by the victors. Athens' prestige in the Aegean had been dealt a harsh blow: the city whose standing among other Greeks had won her the pivotal role in the resistance to Macedonian rule in 323 had been undermined by the loss of her most important island holding, Samos. Moreover, Macedonian overlords now interfered in the Athenian constitution itself, an interference reinforced and maintained by the presence of Macedonian arms in the Piraeus. Many of her finest orators and most renowned leaders, both political and military, had been executed: Demosthenes and Hyperides, Demades and Phocion, the demagogue Hagnonides—all were dead by 317, executed by Antipater's henchmen or driven to suicide in 322, by order of the Athenian assembly in 318, or at Cassander's behest. This was the Athens for whose care and supervision Demetrius now (to paraphrase Cicero *Brutus* 9.37 =

---

[79] That source may be Hieronymus of Cardia: see Hornblower 1981, 210. On this description of the settlements, see also below, 163.

[80] Thus, for example, when Cassander wanted to mobilise the Athenian fleet, he wrote to the Macedonian garrison commander *and to Demetrius* (Diod. 19.68.3 = Demetr. 21 SOD); when Antigonid forces threatened Athens, Demetrius led the negotiations (Diod. 19.78.4–5 = Demetr. 22 SOD; Diod. 20.45.4 = Demetr. 30 SOD).

Demetr. 121 SOD) "came out into the sunlight and dust, not as from a soldier's tent, but from the shadowy retreat of Theophrastus."[81]

1.3 *The decade of Demetrius: some introductory observations*

Cicero's image of light and shade may serve us a little further. Shadows continue to obscure our historical understanding of the next ten years of the Athenian experience, ten years in which Demetrius of Phalerum dominated the city until his ouster from power in 307/6 at the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes. A chronologically-structured narrative of 'Demetrius' decade' is possible only for the interaction of Athens with the outside (and chiefly Macedonian) world;[82] little can be charted of specific events within the city itself, beyond the barest framework of archon-lists in which Demetrius himself makes a notable appearance, as eponymus archon of 309/8.[83] The reputation that Demetrius enjoyed as a legislator derives from his decade in power, and he may be credited with a raft of laws, among which some curbed extravagances in Athenian burial praxis and in feasting, while others restricted the behaviour of women in the public sphere. This legislation, which is treated in detail in the following chapters, attracts the ire of Demetrius' critics, but they give us virtually nothing to fix the individual items within the broader context of 317/6–307/6. Hints, moreover, of opposition to his rule come from very anecdotal accounts of prosecutions,[84] but most are without any precise temporal context. Some glimmers of light do fall on those whose reputations outlasted the fall of the regime. Thus we know that Demetrius' decade saw the prolific Menander consolidate his position alongside Philemon among the foremost playwrights of his day, with a first victory secured with the play *Dyskolos* in the Lenaea of 316 (Menander T48 KA). We know too that the logographer Dinarchus, among the last of the canonical Attic orators, flourished under Demetrius (Dionys. Hal. *De Din.* 3), his talent no doubt made all the more profitable by the untimely demise of his former competitors Demosthenes and Hyperides.

[81] Cicero applies these words to Demetrius' formation as an orator, on which see below 232–33.
[82] This is the topic of chapter 6, below.
[83] See 131ff for analysis.
[84] Below, 211–13.

It is on Demetrius himself that most of the light falls, and the (largely negative) comment that he attracts from his contemporaries rarely illuminates specific and identifiable events. (One striking exception concerns his display during his own archonship in 309/8—thus Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD; Polyb. 12.13.11–12 = Demetr. 89 SOD).[85] The anecdotal tradition treating his regime is, in many cases, concerned rather to create a general image of Demetrius that insinuates his complicity with Cassander of Macedon, and underlines Demetrius' willingness to subordinate Athens to the will of that foreign master. This focus of our sources on the person of Demetrius himself may well reflect the Athenian reality of the period of his rule. Under the restraints of legislation enacted by Demetrius, the famed grave monuments and khoregic dedications through which so many Athenians had been celebrated make way for a commemorative tradition dominated by Demetrius' own image. The (surely exaggerated) later Roman claims that some three hundred—or yet more remarkably *fifteen* hundred—statues of Demetrius adorned the city (Demetr. 24–25 SOD), with the majority of these showing Demetrius on horseback or in a chariot (so Diog. Laert. 5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD); there is a possibility that some, at least, were the work of Lysippus, the very artist who had forged the definitive image of Alexander the Great and who would later create the colossus of Helius for Rhodes.[86] The man who, it will be argued in the following chapters, was concerned to arrest the moral decline of his contemporary Athenians and to restore a sense of religious propriety, seems paradoxically to have attracted to himself something of the trappings that would belong to the age of ruler-cults. A divine image may be hinted at by the blonded hair and painted face that Demetrius is supposed to have cultivated, while his nickname of Lampito may help to conjure up the radiance of the sun god himself; it may be no accident that a poet hailed Demetrius as "sun-shaped" (*heliomorphos*) in a hymn sung during the Dionysiac procession of 308 (Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD).[87] The light from this new Athenian sun was, it seems, so intense as to cast his surrounding Athens into the deepest of shadows. It is into these shadows that the exploration of Demetrius' decade in the following chapters aims to direct a little light.

---

[85] For discussion, see 182; 193–94.
[86] Moreno 1987.
[87] See below, 213 cf. 300.

CHAPTER TWO

DEMETRIUS THE LAW-GIVER: THE MORAL PROGRAMME

While it was Demetrius' nomination by Cassander in early 317 that marked the beginning of his term of pre-eminence, it was for his activities as a legislator that he was renowned in later antiquity. Syncellus (*Chronological Abstract* p. 251 Dind. = Demetr. 20B SOD) labels him the "third lawgiver" (*nomothetês*) of Athens, while Cicero (*De Re Publica* 2.1.2 = Demetr. 56 SOD) groups him with those lawgivers who "set up the state with their laws and institutions, as did Minos of the Cretans, Lycurgus of the Spartans, and of the Athenians…Theseus, then Draco, then Solon, then Cleisthenes." But what kind of laws did Demetrius enact, and what kind of a lawgiver was he? Were the laws he promulgated designed to effect some fundamental constitutional change, a replacement of democracy with oligarchy? We have, from Demetrius of Phalerum himself, a suggestion that he did not want his legislation to be perceived in that light: Strabo (9.1.20 = Demetr. 19 SOD), quoting from Demetrius' own (no doubt self-justificatory) memoirs, records that Demetrius did not overthrow the democracy, but "bettered" or "strengthened" it. But if Demetrius' aim was not constitutional change outright, what else might have been the thrust of his legislation?

The answer to these questions is fundamental to any understanding of Demetrius' regime. It may be of great importance, too, for our appreciation of the relationship between Athens and her Macedonian hegemon, Cassander, and may offer us an insight into the level of Macedonian control. Was Demetrius, we might ask, altering Athenian law to suit the demands of his backer, just as earlier the lawgivers appointed in Chios by Alexander the Great (*RO* 84) were instructed to redraw the law code to facilitate Alexander's own imposition of democracy on that formerly oligarchic state? Or was Demetrius' agenda a more narrowly Athenian one: was he, once established in power by Cassander, free to implement domestic changes of his own which had no necessary ramifications for Cassander's interests?

This chapter seeks to engage with some of these issues, to delineate the extent of Phalerean legislation and to assess its intent. As so often,

however, the evidence upon which we must rely is fragmentary and contentious. There is only a single law (on the regulation of burials) that is explicitly stated as having been introduced by Demetrius, and some questions remain about the scope and meaning of this law. Other laws and legislated changes (such as the creation of new magistracies) are attested only tangentially, and there is often dispute about Demetrius' authorship of them as well as about their purpose. With limited direct evidence, the date(s) of Demetrius' enactments is also unclear, although the indications favour an early start. The Mamor Parium (B15–16 = Demetrius F20A) lists his legislative activity under the year 317/16; with its simple equating of the date of Demetrius' installation in power with that of his law-framing, this may be suspect, although the same impression is given by a more worthy source, the Axione decree honouring Demetrius (*IG* ii^2 1201 = Demetr. 16B SOD, esp. ll.9–12). There, the record of Demetrius' legislation follows directly from Demetrius' reconciliation of the city and harbour, a reference undoubtedly to the part he played in effecting the settlement with Cassander in early 317.

While the direct testimonia to the laws themselves are frustratingly few, there is an extensive passage in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (542b–543a = Demetr. 43A SOD) which sheds light on the issues. It is a passage of calumny against Demetrius, and it is drawn from sources contemporary with him.[1] Cited is Duris of Samos, who was in Athens (with his brother, Lynceus) probably soon after Demetrius' expulsion from the city and who may even have been there during his rule.[2] Quoted too is Antigonus of Carystus (known also as Carystius of Pergamum). Carystius is not himself a contemporary (his *floruit* ought be placed ca. 240), but his information on Demetrius here and elsewhere comes from Demochares, the chief opponent of Demetrius to emerge in 307.[3] Duris and Carystius/Demochares level a number

---

[1] The application of this material by Aelian, *V.H.* 9.9 (= Demetr. 43B SOD) to Demetrius Poliorcetes is erroneous. Confusion between the two Demetrii occurs elsewhere: compare Diog. Laert. 5.76 (= Demetr. 1 SOD), Diogenianus ap. Choeroboscum *Anthog. s.v. Loimia* (= Demetr. 6 SOD) and Aelian *V.H.* 12.17.

[2] For discussion of possible dates for the arrival of Duris and Lynceus in Athens, see below 307 n. 7.

[3] Demochares was, in 306, the author of a speech supporting the regulation of philosophical schools in Athens (the law of Sophocles, on which see 213ff); that the material against Demetrius of Phalerum probably comes from this speech is argued below, 306–7, where Demochares' antipathy to Demetrius is further discussed.

of accusations against Demetrius for his profligate living, highlighting his sumptuous feasts and extravagant parties, his sexual peccadilloes, his excessive honouring of his dead brother, and his conduct as archon during a festival of Dionysus. What is striking is that many of the alleged offences seem to correspond closely to areas in which Demetrius is supposed to have legislated. The general thrust of the attacks thus seems to be that Demetrius violated his own precepts; this much is made virtually explicit by Duris, who complains that Demetrius, "who was laying down laws for other people and regulating their lives, organised his own life with utter freedom from law." The critiques from Duris and Carystius/Demochares are thus apparently linked to Demetrius' legislation. Their claims are not sufficiently detailed to allow us to define otherwise unknown details of the laws, but they do offer a confirmation of some of the concerns of Demetrius' legislation and permit us a glimpse of the contemporary reaction to those reforms.

Despite the limitations and complexities in the available evidence, it is possible to tease out a distinct theme in the Phalerean legislation. Broadly speaking, what Demetrius does seem to have been engaged in is a programme of moral revision and the curbing of material luxury. He was not, on the interpretation to be advanced here, the architect of some essentially oligarchic revision of the democracy that had ruled Athens throughout the fourth century, nor was he chiefly concerned, as some have maintained, with ensuring the financial stability of the Athenian well-to-do. Rather, he was engaged in the kind of moral reform process associated in the historical tradition with names like Zaleucus, Charondas and Diocles, archaic and often semi-mythical lawgivers (many labelled *nomothetai* by our sources) whose legislation sought to shape the personal conduct of the citizens of their states.

2.1 *Burial laws*

The regulations on burial practice provide a convenient starting point, since they are the only laws unambiguously attested as of Phalerean provenance. Cicero is our source, and the passage of interest forms part of a broader historical survey, in *De Legibus* 2.62–67, of Greek burial laws; notably, for information on Demetrius' law and for at least some of the discussion of earlier Greek laws, Cicero is drawing upon the testimony of Demetrius of Phalerum himself. In the recent edition

of the fragments by Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf, the section on Demetrius' regulations (*De Legibus* 2.66 = Demetr. 53 SOD) is rendered as follows:

> But again the same Demetrius says that the magnificence of funerals and graves increased to roughly what it is now in Rome, a custom on which he himself placed legal restrictions, for as you know he was not only a very learned person but also to the highest degree a citizen of his community, and most apt at governing the city. He restricted expenses not just by imposing a penalty but also by setting a time: he ordered that burials were to take place before the light of day. Moreover, he limited the size of new tombs: he did not wish to have anything erected above the mound of earth except a small column, not more than three cubits high, or a table or a basin, and he appointed a magistrate specifically to look after this.

In much of their content, these provisions do not mark any radical departure from previous Attic measures promulgated first (according to tradition) by Cecrops, and extended by Solon and others;[4] indeed, Demetrius himself seems to have highlighted this continuity, since the summary of earlier Athenian funerary legislation (*De Leg.* 2.63–65) with which Cicero prefaces the Phalerean law is itself drawn from Demetrius.[5] There are precedents for Demetrius' restriction of funerals to the period before dawn: a law, allegedly of Solon's authorship, is quoted in the Demosthenic speech against Macartatus ([Dem.] 43.62), and among the burial provisions laid out in that law is the requirement that the corpse be taken from the house before sunrise.[6] Similarly Demetrius was not, it seems, the first to place limitations on the monument placed over the burial mound: Cicero records that previous laws enacted sometime after Solon had limited the tomb to one which could be constructed within three days by ten men, and had forbidden certain decorations.[7]

---

[4] For Solon's laws, Cic. *De Leg.* 2.63ff, Plut. *Sol.* 21.6, [Dem.] 43.62. For discussion of these earlier Athenian measures see now Engels 1998.

[5] Thus on the Solonian laws, Cicero has "as Demetrius writes". On the derivation of Cicero's whole discussion of Attic funeral laws from Demetrius, see Conze 1922, 5 and Eckstein 1958, 23.

[6] Pre-dawn burial processions feature elsewhere: compare also *Anth. Pal.* 7.517; Heraclit. *Alleg. Hom.* 68. Pre-dawn burial was recommended too by Plato (*Nomoi* 960a).

[7] It has been suggested by Stichel 1992, 438 that Demetrius may have regulated the size of the burial mound also, and that this facet of the legislation has been omitted by Cicero. The author of the earlier law has been variously identified as one of the

In light of these historical continuities, it is tempting to wonder whether Demetrius' law retained from earlier laws any further provisions that have not been recorded in Cicero's version, a version clearly paraphrasing rather than directly translating the original Greek legislation.[8] Possible evidence of additional clauses rests in the final sentence of the twenty-first chapter of Plutarch's *Solon*. Having summarised Solon's provisions for funerals, Plutarch comments that

> most [of the practices outlawed by Solon] are forbidden also by our laws, but ours also provide that offenders shall be punished by the *gunaikonomoi* [the censors of women] for weak and unmanly behaviour, and for carrying their mourning to extravagant lengths.

If this is not an authorial remark made by Plutarch himself in reference to his native town of Chaeronea, it may come rather from the Plutarch's source, and that source is likely to have been Demetrius.[9] That Demetrius traced the history of Solonian funerary law in Athens is strongly suggested by the passages on Athenian funeral law in Cicero, and Plutarch was certainly familiar with Demetrius' writings. (Perhaps significantly, Plutarch cites Demetrius at *Solon* 23. 3 (= Demetr. 117 SOD) on the value of sacrificial victims, a topic appropriate to a treatment of Solonian burial laws since Solon had outlawed the slaughter of an ox over tombs.) If *Solon* 21.5 does also derive from Demetrius, it may well refer to the situation of late fourth-century Athens; it would hence hint most strongly that Demetrius retained with his own laws

---

Peisistratids (Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 90) or Cleisthenes (so G. Hirschfeld, reported by Eckstein 1958, 18ff), or Cleisthenes with enforcement later by Themistocles (so Zinserling as reported by Garland 1989, 6). The differences of identification stem from uncertainty about the meaning of the forbidden decoration, which Cicero calls *hermae*; herms as such are not found as grave ornaments until Hellenistic times (so Friis Johansen 1951, 72).

[8] Clear evidence of Cicero's authorial intrusion is supplied by the comparison with the extravagance of contemporary Rome. It has often been remarked too that the final line of 2.66, on the restriction of monuments, cannot be a close translation of the formulation of an actual Greek statute, and has obviously been rephrased by Cicero.

[9] See Jacoby *FGrHist*. 328 F65 n. 4; likewise Ruschenbusch 1966a in his comments on his F72C thought Demetrius of Phalerum to be Plutarch's most likely source, essentially because *gunaikonomoi* featured in his regime (below, 66ff for Phalerean *gunaikonomoi*). The existence of *gunaikonomoi* in Plutarch's native Chaeronea cannot, however, be dismissed with any certainty; they are not attested in Chaeronea itself, but did occur in Hellenistic times at least in other Boeotian cities such as Thespiae (Roesch 1965, 231–5 for *gunaikonomoi* there in the late third century). Consequently, others (among them Boeckh 1871, 423, and Garland 1981, 13) have maintained that Plutarch was indeed referring to his own native town in *Solon* 21.5.

the Solonian measures which Plutarch had listed in that chapter: these include the banning of the laceration of flesh by mourners, of the sacrifice of oxen, and the limitation to three items of the clothing interred with the corpse. Perhaps also retained by Demetrius were those supposedly Solonian measures that are not catalogued by Plutarch, but are mentioned in the speech of [Demosthenes] against Macartatus ([Dem.] 43.62), namely the restriction of female participants in the funeral to those closely related to the deceased, the prohibition against set lamentations, and the ordering of the procession so that men preceded women.

If there is perhaps a good deal of continuity between Demetrius' laws and those of the earlier Attic lawgivers, there is one aspect in which his funeral code probably stood apart from its Athenian predecessors, and that is in the establishment of a magistracy to enforce observance of the laws. Cicero attests to the existence both of punishments and an enforcing agent (named only vaguely as a "certain magistrate").[10] Within Cicero's discussion of Athenian burial law, penalties and an enforcement agent are mentioned for Demetrius' laws alone, and the suggestion that Demetrius was the first Athenian to entrust funeral laws to the supervision of specific magistrates is not confined to Cicero's account. If we return to Plutarch's treatment of Solon's burial laws (above), we note that Plutarch distinguishes between the situation immediately after the promulgation of Solon's laws and 'the present day' chiefly in terms of the introduction of *gunaikonomoi* to implement the laws. This implies that no specific officials were designated by Solon himself to enforce observance; furthermore, if 'the present day' refers to the Phalerean period as has been suggested, we may be permitted to attribute this innovation to Demetrius, and moreover to identify Cicero's shadowy *certus magistratus* as the *gunaikonomos*; such officials are believed to have existed under his regime, and are discussed in greater detail below. As officials whose chief concern lay in the regulation of women's behaviour, *gunaikonomoi* would, of course, be entirely appropriate for supervision of burial laws. Funerary provisions tended to focus upon the behaviour of women (in restrict-

[10] Outside Athens, there were punishments for failure to comply with burial restrictions at Delphi (*SIG*[3] 1220), while the *gunaikonomos* in third-century Gambreium could impose penalties upon women who did not observe the restrictions on mourning (*SIG*[3] 1219).

ing their lamentations and laceration of their cheeks in mourning, prescribing their rôle in the funeral procession and in stipulating which female family members were allowed to attend the funeral),[11] and other states in Hellenistic times also entrusted funeral laws to boards of *gunaikonomoi*.[12]

The absence of any set officials charged with implementing Athenian funeral laws before Demetrius cannot be proved absolutely, but there is confirmatory evidence (beyond the inferences from Cicero and Plutarch) that may permit us to entertain the possibility that Demetrius was the first Athenian legislator to entrust funeral laws to the scrutiny of a special magistracy. Firstly there is the argument *ex silentio*: nowhere are officials regulating prior burial practices mentioned in an Athenian context. In addition, archaeological remains indicate that early attempts to restrict funeral monuments had met with little lasting success; the cemetery remains in the post-Phalerean era, by contrast, exhibit a marked curtailment of funerary monuments, even well into the second century. The elaborately worked classical relief *stêlai* virtually disappear from the funerary context; with a single stroke, it seems, Demetrius brought to an end a monumental tradition that had produced some of the loveliest manifestations of Athenian art. Predominant instead in the Athenian grave precincts of the third century is the bland grave pillar—the *columella* permitted by Demetrius, almost always under the three cubit height limit imposed by his law.[13] This apparent observance in Athens of the limitation on monuments suggests that Demetrius' laws, unlike their precursors, were actively enforced by a magistrate.[14]

Curiously enough, however, while the archaeological evidence indisputably reveals the impact of Demetrius' laws on Athenian funerary art, it has not yielded a simple interpretation of the precise nature of

---

[11] Women are singled out in Athenian burial law at [Dem.] 43.62, Cic. *De Leg.* 2.64, cf. Thuc. 2.34.4; beyond Attica, see Iulis (*SIG*^{3} 1218), Gambreium (*SIG*^{3} 1219) and Lesbos (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.65). On the importance accorded women in burial legislation, see also Garland 1989, 5 n. 8.

[12] Such was the case in, for example, Gambreium (*SIG*^{3} 1219–third century).

[13] Thus Engels 1998, 131 on the *columellae*. Individual *columellae* could be indiviualised through engraved detailing: one such example for the actor Hieronymus is treated by Butz 1990/91. In addition to the *columellae* proper, there are a few rectangular stones, or *cippi*, often inscribed simply with the name of the deceased.

[14] On the compliance with Phalerean regulations, Kirchner 1939, 94; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 169. On the demise of earlier restrictions see Garland 1989, 7.

the specific regulation on the grave monuments. The exact meaning of this regulation has, as a result, proved highly contentious. The text in dispute is the final line of Cicero's *De Legibus* 2.66:

> Moreover, he limited the size of new tombs: he did not wish to have anything erected above the mound of earth except a small column, not more than three cubits high, or a table or basin... (*nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid<quam> statui, nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiorem aut mensam aut labellum.*)

Part of the problem arises from Cicero's terminology. Compelled to render in Latin a law that was formulated in Greek, Cicero evidently has trouble, on occasion, finding a meaningful Latin equivalent for what might be a rather specialised, and even rare, word in his Greek original.[15] So it is that the Greek precedents of some of the terms he uses for the monuments stipulated in Demetrius' law have proved elusive. Thus, while his *columella* and *mensa* are perhaps to be identified respectively as the short pillar-shaped *kioniskos* (well attested in the *necropoleis* of Hellenistic Athens: see fig. 1), and the box or chest shaped *trapeza* forms known both from literary and archaeological sources,[16] it remains unclear to what the term *labellum* should refer: the broad wash bowl with its fluted stand, or *lutêrion*, suggested first by Kirchner, retains its plausibility.[17]

The archaeological evidence has tended to fuel the argument rather than furnish solutions. Not only do the remains of Athens' graveyards fail to offer examples by which we might understand terms such as *labellum*, the surviving evidence seems in fact to contradict the usual

[15] His grappling for a translation is apparent in earlier paragraphs of *De Legibus*. At 2.64 he glosses one of the Greek terms from his source ("a burial mound which is what I take *tumbos* to refer to": *De Leg.* 2.64), and at 2.65 writes of a burial law of Solon prohibiting the use of "what are called Hermes pillars" *(hermas hos quos uocant licebat inponi*). Cicero's troubles translating Greek terms to Latin were not confined to burial monuments: one might compare his entertaining account of his translation of *epokhê* at *Ad Att.* 13.21.

[16] [Plut.] *Mor.* 838 b–d uses the term *trapeza* of rather large and ostentatious monuments; the term might also apply to the more humble cuboid blocks, inscribed often only with a name, found in the Keramikos. For detail, see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 168–9, Twele 1975, 95–97.

[17] Kirchner 1939, 95. The *loutêrion*, or standed laver, is not actually attested in an Athenian grave context; some examples are found, however, on southern Italian vase paintings representing funerary settings in the late fourth century: see Lohmann 1979, 133–37. It is no surprise that a Greek equivalent for *labellum* has proved contentious; *labellum* itself is a rare term in Latin, known from a mere handful of sources including Cato (see *TLL* sv *labellum*).

Fig. 1. Hellenistic *columellae* outside the Keramikos Museum, Athens. Photo: Author.

reading of Cicero's text. For while finds from early Hellenistic Athens confirm a proliferation of grave-marking *columellae* in this period, examples of the other two forms, the *mensa* and the *labellum*, are elusive. Those of the rather undistinguished *mensa* blocks that can be dated are pre-Phalerean, while the few *labella* found are only incomplete: no basin parts have turned up in a grave context, only the *labella* stands, and those often re-chiselled to serve as *columellae*.[18]

Various attempts have been made to reconcile these archaeological data with Cicero's literary tradition.[19] Stichel found a partial solution, when he suggested that Cicero's rather tortuous Latin be taken to mean that Demetrius of Phalerum was allowing only one form of monument, the *columella*, as the physical remains suggest, and that the *mensa* and the *labellum* are to be understood as expansions of

[18] Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 167 fig. 27 b illustrate the type.

[19] Notably by Kirchner 1939 and Twele 1975. Most recently Engels 1998, 129–35, rejecting Stichel's interpretation of Cicero's syntax, has argued that a preference by the Athenians for the *columella* might simply have led to its abundance and to the dearth of the other two forms—a solution that accords ill with the Athenian love of individualism of expression.

what was prohibited. Stichel maintains that Cicero would intend, in fact, that Demetrius

> did not wish to have erected above the mound of earth anything (except a small column, not more than three cubits high): not a table nor a basin.

This understanding of the text offers the significant advantage of being consistent with the physical remains. If this reading is to be accepted, however, it does raise its own problems. Why was Demetrius moved to specify two particular types—the *mensa* and the *labellum*—as being prohibited, particularly when neither was a particularly favoured form of grave monument?[20] An answer to that quandary may lie in the actual physical construction of the *columella*, the *mensa* and the *labellum*. The term *columella* could be used of the stand component of a *mensa* and of a *labellum*, as Cicero's Latin readership would have been well aware. Varro, for example, uses *columella* for the pedestal of an oblong stone table (*mensa*...*lapidea quadrata oblonga una columella*: see *L.L.* 5.125), while the coupling of *columella* with a *labellum* can be found in the temple inventory *CIL* 14. 2215 (ll. 18–19), upon which is listed a marble *labellum*...*cum columella*. To Cicero's Roman readership, then, a *columella* might be a part of both a *mensa* and of a *labellum*. That the Greek originals in Demetrius' law might have been similarly related can be demonstrated clearly in the case of the *loutêrion* (usually assumed to be the counterpart of the *labellum*), an object which appears not infrequently in temple registries as an entity made up of stand (*hupstaton*) and bowl (the *loutêrion* proper).[21] We can begin to see now why Demetrius may have been moved explicitly to prohibit these modifications. A *columella* ran the risk of being regarded as something potentially 'unfinished', a mere pedestal which needed a

---

[20] Stichel 1992 proposed that the terms *columella, mensa* and *labellum* have been too narrowly understood. He suggests that the *columella* might refer more properly to a *stêlidion*, itself a term which could denote flat inscribed stones (*stêlai*) and also inscribed columnar stones, both of which are evidenced as grave-markers; that *mensa* may apply to any kind of monument with figures worked in relief on its faces, and *labellum* to any kind of vessel (such as the vessel known from Greek funerary contexts and called the *loutrophoros* in modern scholarship). Such an interpretation does, however, require each term to do a lot of work in Latin. It is apparent from Cicero's text that he is keen to make his description of the Greek laws intelligible to a Latin readership (hence his glosses of particular terms), and it is scarcely credible that Roman readers would have understood *mensa* and *labellum* as broadly as Stichel would urge.

[21] So particularly Pollux 10.46, with further references in Amyx 1958, 222.

crowning item such as a table-top or *labellum*-bowl; the temptation to embellish it in the latter fashion would have been all the stronger when—as was apparently sometimes the case—the *columella* itself was being fashioned out of the disused stand of an older *loutêrion*. An inclination by the Athenians to ornament the humble *columella* in this fashion may lie at the foundation of Demetrius' particular exclusions of the *mensa* and the *labellum*.

Cicero's report, then, can be read in a manner consistent with the archaeological evidence, and the case for this reading is bolstered by a consideration of the motives for Demetrius' law. It is to those motives that we must now turn.[22] Why did Demetrius enact, and enforce, such restrictions on burial practices? On one level, there is an easy answer. Demetrius' measures were designed, like those of some other lawgivers, to curb the extravagance both of the funeral and of the grave monument. Cicero locates his treatment of Demetrius' laws (*De Leg.* 2.66 = Demetr. 53 SOD) in just such a context: after listing post-Solonian measures which regulated the size and decoration of grave monuments and restricted attendances at funerals, the Phalerean legislation is prefaced thus:

> But again the same Demetrius says that the magnificence of funerals and graves increased to roughly what it is now in Rome, a custom on which he himself placed legal restrictions…

Restriction of funerary and grave monument expense is amply paralleled in the Greek world. Among the Labyadae at Delphi ca. 400 expenditure on burials was restricted to thirty five drachmas (*SIG*[3] 1220); the Spartan Lycurgus' order that nothing be buried with the dead (Plut. *Lyc.* 27.103; *Mor.* 238d) seems also to have been designed to curb expenses; the Syracusans were subject to laws against costly funerals (Diod. 11.38).[23] Similar provisions limiting the costs of sacrifices and of clothing interred existed at Iulis in the fifth century (*SIG*[3] 1218).

---

[22] For a measured description of Greek funerary legislation and its complex impetuses, see Garland 1989.

[23] These Syracusan provisions are attributed by Diodorus to Diocles, the demagogue of 413; they may be better ascribed to the homonymous archaic legislator: so Ziehen & de Prott 261 n. 9. Diodorus makes similar errors in his treatment of early legislators when he makes Charondas a lawgiver for Thurii (12.11–18), even though Thurii was founded only in 443.

But was this limitation of expenditure an end in itself? Are such restrictions to be seen simply as an aspect of financial management, as attempts to prevent the dissipation of individual wealth? That the protection of fortunes was a benefit achieved through funeral laws may be so; that it was an avowed aim of the legislators, however, is not readily sustained by the sources. Indeed, the notion that funeral expenses ought be monitored to prevent the ruin of individuals emerges as a rationale chiefly in modern analyses.[24] The ancients themselves link the need to limit funeral expenses to a notion of what is appropriate to the gods of the underworld.[25] Cicero, for example, concludes a discussion of those burial laws contained in Rome's own Twelve Tables (*De Leg.* 2.62) with an explanation that the legislators of old were concerned to "remove outlay and mourning" from the rites of the chthonic deities. Indeed, he presents the curbing of funeral expenses as being in accordance with laws established by nature. Prior to his summary of Greek funeral laws, Cicero had related to his interlocutor, Atticus, other laws concerning the construction of graves that are described as being "in accordance with nature, which is the standard for law". This, then, is the framework into which the discussion of the Phalerean measure is set: the limitation of monuments restrains expenses to a degree befitting the natural order.

Demetrius' restrictions of burial expenditure may be seen as analogous to those provisions, well attested from earlier legislators, designed to maintain decency of behaviour both by men and women. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 27.2) attributes to the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus a desire to advance the integrity and probity of his citizens, arguing that his laws were designed to foster appropriate behaviour and thereby to foster virtue. In an Athenian context, it is claimed by Plutarch first that Epimenides of Crete, by restricting the behaviour of mourners and the extravagance of funeral rites, made the Athenian people more observant of proper religious practices and the Athenian women consequently less "barbaric" in their mourning; and that subsequently the legislation governing women that Solon himself framed—laws of which the funeral regulations formed a component—was designed to ensure decorous behaviour, with Solon putting a stop to the "wild and

---

[24] As, for example, in Ferguson 1911b, esp. 269; Garland 1989 also emphasises the economic rationale.

[25] This same point is cogently argued by Toher 1986, esp. 306–21 in his survey of Greek funerary legislation.

disorderly behaviour" of women' (Plut. *Sol.* 12.5, 21.4). Having noted the enforcement by *gunaikonomoi* of these Solonian burial laws in a contemporary context, Plutarch continues that transgressors against the laws are to be punished for displaying a grief that is "unmanly" (*anandra*) and "feminine" (*gunaikôde*) in its scope. If the mention here of *gunaikonomoi* means that Plutarch is describing the situation in Demetrius' Athens (and not that of his contemporary Chaeronea), Plutarch may be echoing Demetrius' own justification for the restriction of funerary practices, which points most strongly to a moral, rather than financial, rationale.

Religious propriety is singled out as a central concern in many other ancient texts. In Plato's introduction to his section on ideal funeral laws (*Nomoi* 958d-960b), the need for restraint in funerals is again linked to religious considerations, although of a rather different kind from those isolated by Cicero. For Plato, since the soul is separated from the body, the body no longer has any use for costly gifts; the gods' judgement of the soul will not be swayed by luxurious offerings.[26] Mention might be made also of the laws ascribed to Charondas. His restrictions applied to mourning rather than the expenses of monuments, but are similarly justified in terms of religious propriety: tears and lamentations were to be curbed because any lack of restraint showed disrespect to the chthonic deities (so Stobaeus 44.40 = 4.153 Hense). One might note further that a burial law from Gambreium (*SIG*[3] 1219) makes explicit the connection between its funeral restrictions and religious observance: the law stipulates that women who fail to observe the limitations imposed on mourning are to be declared guilty of impiety (*asebeia*) and banned from participation in sacrifices for a ten year period. The ancients, it seems, were more explicitly concerned with religious decorum than wealth protection.

This need for appropriate observances is readily explained by reference to Greek beliefs about burials. Funerals and mourning processes were fundamentally services performed in honour of the chthonic deities; thus Aeschines (1.14) explains Solon's stipulation that even a boy sold into prostitution by his father must bury that father with due ceremony because burial rites celebrate not the deceased but "law (*nomos*)

[26] The philosopher also warns against the corrupting power of religious festivals that are not properly observed; such misapplied festivals give a false sense of the gods, and distort the moral perceptions of the citizens. (One might here compare the comments of Reverdin 1945, 124).

and religion (*to theion*)." There is a sense in which extravagance in funerals blurred the distinction between honours being paid to the chthonic deities and intimated, furthermore, that the dead were being worshipped in their own right.[27] Burial had to be consistent with the status of the deceased: to bestow luxurious burials upon mortals was to usurp divine privileges. More particularly still, the line between hero and funerary rites was one that was easily transgressed, for the cult of heroes was frequently focused on the supposed tomb of the hero, and in some of its manifestations such hero worship, the reverence of the powerful dead, could share many elements with burial rites.[28] One fundamental concern underlying the restriction of luxury in funerals and funerary monuments, then, may clearly be the preservation of the proper distinction between the ordinary dead and the hero. An analogous desire to differentiate different classes of the dead is manifested in the granting of heightened burial ceremonial to those dead who are to be accorded some kind of heroic, or quasi-heroic, status, such as those who have died in battle on behalf of the state.[29]

The years leading up to Demetrius' installation in power saw this very distinction between mortal and hero come under especially intense threat, at all social levels. Beginning in the fourth century, there emerges a tendency around the Greek world for the bereaved to portray their departed increasingly in the cast of heroes.[30] Within Athens itself, this is reflected in the appearance—admittedly in restricted numbers, but an emergence nonetheless—of a style of grave *stêlê* relief, the so-called *Totenmahl*, in which the dead, an ordinary citizen, is presented as a hero: he reclines on a couch with a heroic feast set out before him on a low table, and his attendants are given a much smaller stature, signalling their subservient status as ordinary mortals.[31] The grave

[27] There was a belief that the gods themselves preferred modest sacrifices to expensive ones that were designed to reflect well upon the wealth of the sacrificer. This notion is developed by Demetrius' close associate, Theophrastus: see Theophr. 584a FHS&G.

[28] So Rohde 1950, 169.

[29] Those who fell at Marathon and Plataea received heroic cult: Paus. 1.32.4; Thuc. 3.58; Plut. *Arist*. 21. For other heroization of the war-dead, compare also Pouilloux 1954, 376, inscription no. 141. Distinctions were made between different classes of the dead in Lycurgus' Sparta: so Plut. *Lyc*. 27.3. On the ambiguities plaguing the association of the war-dead with heroes, compare the rather differing judgements of Farnell 1921, 362–63, and Loraux 1986, 39–41.

[30] On this general tendency, especially among the élite, Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 273ff.

[31] On the *Totenmahl* reliefs see Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1982; this type

monuments of fourth century Athens themselves betray a heroizing tendency, becoming not much different from actual shrines or *hêrôia*. The depth of field in some *stêlai* increases to such an extent that the figures of the dead are worked almost in the round, rather than in relief, and the architectural framework surround of columns and pediment forms a virtual *naiskos*. For examples, one may look to the monument of Aristonautes son of Archenautes (fig. 2),[32] or again (in an example still more extreme) to the virtual heroon of Polyxenus of Istria unearthed in the Athenian suburb of Kallithea (fig. 3), the latter surely modelling itself on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[33] In her study of heroic cult in Attica, Kearns is moved to comment on the late fourth century as a time in which the distinctions between men, heroes and gods were becoming blurred: "categories receive a shake-up: contemporary mortals can be gods, ordinary and undistinguished people are heroes.... The new heroes, one's own dead family, seem to have a greater importance than the heroes of the community at large."[34]

It was the Macedonian nobility, however, who made the division between mortal and immortal a politically charged issue immediately prior to Demetrius' regime. Alexander the Great had famously been recognised by the Oracle at Siwah in 332/31 as the son of a god and even as a hero, and by the end of his life he was moving towards an open claim to outright divinity; from that exalted position, he was able to demand that his beloved friend, Hephaestion, be accorded heroic honours after the latter's death in 324.[35] Cult honours like these were not entirely unprecedented but were still the exception rather than the rule,[36] and went far beyond the kind of accretion of heroic imagery that was being practised by those Athenian citizens who were opting

---

is unfortunately omitted by Clairmont (on which see Clairmont 1993, *Introduction* vi). *Totenmahl* reliefs use images previously reserved for votives in hero shrines. For an earlier heroizing tendency on some grave reliefs of the period 500–450, compare Richter 1961, 55–56.

[32] Clairmont *CAT* 1.460. For the general trend and the particular examples, see Engels 1998, 121–27, also Winter 2006, 71–72.

[33] Tsirivakos 1971; Engels 1998, 123–24.

[34] Kearns 1989, 5.

[35] Alexander's 'divinity' continues to generate ample scholarship, with recent significant contributions by Bosworth 1998, 98–132; Badian 1996; Fredricksmeyer 2003, 274–78. On the recognition of Hephaestion at Athens, Cawkwell 1994, 299–300. Heroic cult for Hephaestion is now attested at Pella, on which see Despinis *et al.* (1997) no. 23.

[36] For example the Spartan Lysander had, while still alive, been accorded cult by some of the Greek states after the battle of Aegispotami: Duris, *FGrHist.* 76 F71.

Fig. 2. The grave *naiskos* of Aristonautes, ca. 325 BCE. Athens National Museum NM 738. Photo: Author.

Fig. 3. The 'Kallithea Monument' of Niceratus of Istria, ca. 330 BCE. Piraeus Museum Inv. 2413–2529. Photo: Author.

for the new-fashioned *stêlai* reliefs. What rankled even more in Athens was that Hephaestion's cult was officially imposed and its observance compelled; the orator Hyperides encapsulates the Athenians' distaste for this turn of events when, in his *Epitaphios* (6.21), he complains that the Greeks have been forced to neglect traditional religious practices and to countenance these new gods and heroes in their place. The issue of Alexander's divinity certainly prompted a heated discussion in Athens, with Lycurgus speaking out strongly against any divine status ([Plut.] *Mor*. 842d); the ever-pragmatic politician Demades, who put a proposal recognising Alexander's divinity (Aelian *V.H.* 5.12), suffered a strong backlash, being fined and exiled after the new god's all too mortal demise.

Coupled with this overstepping of mortal limitations within the Macedonian court was a display of excessive funerary luxury by a Macedonian resident within Athens itself. When Harpalus, the disgraced former treasurer of Alexander, had sought refuge in Athens in 324, he embarked on the construction of an elaborate monument for his Athenian mistress, Pythonice (Plut. *Phoc.* 22.1–2). He had already celebrated her with divine trappings at Babylon, if we grant any credence to the accusation by the satyric poet Python (Athen. 595f) that she had a temple (Python terms it "the famous shrine of a whore"—*pornês ho kleinos naos*) in her name. The tomb in Attica stood on the road to Eleusis and cost a massive 30 talents; its construction was overseen by one Charicles, son-in-law of that Phocion who headed the restrictive regime imposed on Athens in 322. Monuments of this scale, situated on a busy religious Athenian thoroughfare, can only have served to reinforce the Athenians' apprehension of the Macedonians' lack of appropriate religious restraint, particularly when the form of the monument itself, with its shrine-like elements, had clear quasi-religious overtones.[37]

It is against the political and religious climate created by these developments that Demetrius of Phalerum's burial restrictions need to be understood. At the level of the private citizen, burial practices were moving towards the assumption of imagery and structures formerly associated with heroic cult; at the level of the Macedonian élite, the transgression of mortals into the realms of the heroes was being imposed. Might not Demetrius have been reacting against these trends, aiming to curb the excesses that were blurring the proper line between human and hero?

A number of considerations support the supposition that Demetrius was legislating to preserve this very distinction. One concerns the substance of Demetrius' restriction of permitted grave monuments. It has been suggested above that, in permitting the use only of a *columella* as grave marker, Demetrius was moved explicitly to ban the use of a table (*mensa*) or a basin (*labellum*), and that these particular exclusions may have been prompted by the natural tendency to top a *columella* with such additions. The exclusions may have had an additional motivation,

[37] For Pythionice's monument, and indeed for other of the more grandiose and expensive grave monuments of late classical Athens (including the *trapeza* tomb of Isocrates), see Scholl 1994. Scholl too (268–70) draws attention to the heroizing tendencies in private monuments of the late fourth century.

in that these two banned forms may have become somehow associated with heroic cult. If Cicero's *mensa* is a translation of a *trapeza* in Demetrius' original law, a cult connection is indeed possible. An important requirement of cult practice was a *trapeza*, upon which offerings could be placed, and, in the case of cult in which sacrificial animals were eaten, where the victim could be carved up for distribution. The table was, in fact, more vital even than an altar, for not all cult (and particularly not all heroic cult) required the offering of a live victim.[38] *Trapezai* certainly had a place in the celebration of heroic cult: in the Athenian context, one may look for an example to the cult sanctuary of the heroine Aglauros, which is known to have had a *trapeza* among the cult goods.[39] With such cult *trapezai* the grave markers of the same name may just have a connection; it has indeed been long suggested that some of the cuboid blocks known from Greek grave precincts, blocks which have been deemed probable *trapezai*, may have served as offering tables, perhaps even having a quasi-altar function, and that they may consequently have imputed to the grave a cult aspect.[40] If Demetrius was at pains to prevent the placement of a *mensa* by the tomb, he may have been attempting to avert this kind of accretion of cult in the service of the mortal deceased.

Difficulties abound in interpreting the symbolism of the *labellum*, whose very identification with a *loutêrion* is not categorically established, and so any heroic associations of this object must remain speculative. That such items do turn up in cult inventories and were used in cult rituals is undisputed, but their usage was not exclusively religious as their presence as wash-basins in private houses and public dining halls amply attests.[41] The crucial question is whether a *loutêrion* played a part in normal funerary rites, such that its appearance at a gravesite might contain no implication of heroic cult. But this question is singularly vexed. Actual depictions of *loutêria* in a funerary context are

---

[38] See esp. Dow & Gill 1965, 100.

[39] A *trapeza* is mentioned on the inscription (l.29) relating to the cult of Aglaurion published by Dontas 1983. The heroic cult of Heros Iatros at Rhamnous had both altar and table: *IG* ii^2 1322. For the importance of *trapezai* to heroic cult, see further Gill 1974, 121.

[40] Rupp 1980, esp. 527. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 301, cf. 235–7. A note of caution, however, is sounded by Fraser 1977, 76–81 in his discussion of whether the cylindrical altar-like grave markers in Rhodes have any heroizing symbolism. (Fraser himself thinks not).

[41] The most extensive treatment of the form is Pimpl 1997, also Amyx 1958, 221–28.

confined (with one exception—on which, below) to some late fourth century south Italian vases; the images on these vases themselves have been interpreted by some as imputing heroic status to the deceased (who is pictured standing beside the *loutêrion*), but considered by others simply as a reflection of normal funerary rites.[42] Adding to the dilemma is the lack of adequate literary evidence about the nature of rituals performed over the graves of mortals and of heroes, rituals that may afford some insight into the possible use of *loutêria* in such contexts. A much-cited fragment of Cleidemus (*FGrHist.* 323 F14) describes a ritual lustration taking place by a grave, but the identification of the rite as heroic or merely funerary remains hotly disputed. Against all this uncertainty, it is impossible to claim definitively that the placement of a *loutêrion* by a grave would impute some degree of heroic status to the deceased. Conversely, it is worth stressing that the *loutêrion* cannot yet be demonstrated to have an ordinary funerary meaning, while the form *is* amply attested within sacred precincts (both of gods and of heroes). Significant too is the fact that many of those *loutêria* whose stands were reused by Demetrius' contemporaries to serve as *columellae*, had originally been votive offerings. Dedicated and probably housed originally in the sacred *temenê* on the Acropolis, these old *loutêria* had been cleared away and had become available for reuse. Demetrius may perhaps have had particular religious qualms about the repositioning of whole *loutêria* when these individual objects had originally been offerings to the gods. Finally, a mention must be made too of a tantalising, but ambiguous, example of a *loutêrion* painted on the entrance chamber of a Macedonian tomb from the Hellenistic period.[43] The rarity of depictions of *loutêria* in a sepulchral context in itself makes this example interesting; what makes it particularly noteworthy is the fact that the facing wall is decorated with an image of an altar over which a snake crawls. Snakes are well attested in heroic iconography as images of the hero made manifest on earth: could the *loutêrion* on the opposite wall, then, carry some similar allusion to the heroization of the dead?

---

[42] For Lohmann 1979, 135–37 the southern Italian *loutêrion* is an indication that the deceased died before marriage. Pimpl 1997, 151–53 rejects Lohmann's thesis, and argues also against a cult reading, urging instead that the *loutêrion* may be a reference to the basin of purificatory water normally stationed outside a house in which a death had occurred. That water vessels were required by Athenian custom is well attested, but it is not in fact stated by our sources that a *loutêrion* was the vessel so used.

[43] For extensive discussion and illustration of this tomb for Lyson and Callicles, see Miller 1993.

If the use of a *trapeza* or a *loutêrion* over a grave carried connotations of heroic cult, then Demetrius' specific injunctions against the adaptation of the humble *columella* into either of these other forms may well have stemmed from a strong desire to curb the heroizing tendency that had been spreading in the fourth century. Had Demetrius' law entailed just such a move against the prevailing heroizing ethos of his day, we may be able to appreciate the added sting of one of the accusations levelled against him by a contemporary critic. In a piece of invective that may well derive ultimately from Demochares, it is claimed that Demetrius offered sacrifices to the manifestation of his dead brother, Himeraeus (*ta epiphaneia tou adelphou thuôn*: Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD).[44] Any charge evoking Himeraeus was potentially damaging to Demetrius, for his brother, an arch-democrat, had died at the behest of Antipater during the first surrender of Athens to the Macedonians in 322. But it is the particular nature of the charge that is striking, for it implies that Demetrius was honouring his brother as heroic or even divine.[45] Given that the allegation is part of that longer passage discussed above (46–47), the thrust of which seems to be the subversion by Demetrius of his own legislation, the allegation about Himeraeus may well be designed to reflect on Demetrius' burial laws and as such would have had ironic significance for a contemporary audience.

Demetrius' burial laws enjoyed a great deal of success. This much has long been recognised from the archaeological remains, since adherence to his regulations (i.e. the almost exclusive use of the *columella* alone as a grave marker) continued well after his fall from power, and well after his other reforms had apparently been rescinded.[46] If the curtailment of heroization was at issue, his reforms were similarly successful. The widespread expansion of the use of heroic honours for the ordinary dead evidenced throughout the Greek world in the Hellenistic period appears to have been arrested in Athens. While in neighbouring Boeotia, the term 'hero' was to become a commonplace,

[44] The cited source is Carystius who, it is argued below 306–307, is basing his account on Demochares. On the charge against Demetrius, see also below, 211–12.

[45] That the sacrifices are here described as *thusiai* (*divine* offerings), rather than the *enagismos* strictly due to heroes, might indicate the latter, but sacrificial terminology was not always pedantically applied and so cannot be pressed (Kearns 1989, 3–4).

[46] Engels 1998, 148 153. Types other than the *columella*, most remarkably, perhaps, Clairmont *CAT* 3.410, a third century relief *stêlê* for a Phoenician sailor (on which see also Stager 2005), become the notable exception rather than the norm.

a conventional term of honour for the dead almost entirely devoid of its religious significance, Athens seems to have retained some of its old piety, at least in matters funerary.[47] To the outrage of fellow citizens, some Athenians would later follow the Hellenistic trend and heap divine and semi-divine honours on their liberator, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his associates from 307. Yet the traditional distinction between mortal, hero and divine was yet upheld in the burial ground. This is perhaps something for which Demetrius of Phalerum can take some credit.

2.2 *The* gunaikonomoi *and their other laws*

The concern for religious propriety and for decorous behaviour that appears to have been the primary force behind the burial laws may be at the core of other elements of Demetrius' administration. This may be the case with the *gunaikonomoi*, or censors of women, whose enforcement of Demetrius' burial legislation has already been postulated upon (above 50–51) and whose presence in Phalerean Athens is widely accepted in modern scholarship. Their competence is defined thus by the lexicographer Pollux (8.112)

> *gunaikonomoi*: an office for the good behaviour (*kosmos*) of women. They used to punish disorderly women (*akosmousai*), and, writing up their punishments, they used to display them on the plane tree in the Keramikos.

It is upon these magistrates more generally and their other duties that our attention must now focus, although it must be acknowledged at the outset that the existence of such magistrates under Demetrius' regime—and still more his responsibility for their creation—are in fact problematic: no one source *explicitly* states that magistrates called *gunaikonomoi* existed during Demetrius rule.[48] Not mentioned at all,

---

[47] The diffusion of heroic honours was noted already by Farnell 1921, 367 and Rohde 1950, 532.

[48] Demetrius' authorship of the *gunaikonomoi* was championed most significantly by Boeckh 1871, esp. 421–24; his arguments have been adopted by Ferguson 1911a, 45; Bayer 1942, 51; Wehrli 1962, 34; Gehrke 1978, 162ff; Wallace 1989, 205 and De Bruyn 1995, 173. Advocating Lycurgus: Jacoby, in his commentary to *FGrHist.* 324 F65; Garland 1981, 27ff. Less frequently suggested is an introduction of these officials under Phocion, with Del Corno 1962, esp. 136–41.

however, by sources active in the mid-fourth century (one thinks here chiefly of the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines, or of [Aristotle's] *Athênaiôn Politeia*), *gunaikonomoi* do begin to appear in the context of the late fourth / early third centuries, and the limited available evidence does incline towards Demetrius of Phalerum as their creator. Our chief evidence for the Athenian *gunaikonomoi* comes from an extensive passage from the *Deipnosophistae* (245a–c = Demetr. 153 SOD) in which Athenaeus gathers references to *gunaikonomoi* from the comic poets Timocles and Menander, from Lynceus of Samos and from the *Atthis* book seven of Philochorus. The passage reads as follows:

> "The parasite Chaerephon", (Lynceus) says, "joined a wedding party (*gamos*) without being invited and lay down at the farthest end (of the table); and when the inspectors of women counted the guests and told him to run off because contrary to the law he was one too many above the (allowed) thirty, he said 'Then count again, starting with me.'" That it was customary for the inspectors of women to inspect dinner parties (*symposia*) and check whether the number of guests was that allowed by the law, Timocles states in *Philodikastês* in the following words: "Now open the door, so we will be open to the sunlight and better to see for everybody, in case the inspector of women, in making his rounds, wants to get the number of the members of the party, something he is wont to do according to the new law. Instead of doing that he should inspect the houses of those who go without dinner." And Menander in *Kekruphalon*: "On hearing that according to some new law the inspectors of women had a list of all cooks who catered at wedding parties, so they could make inquiries about the guests, in case anyone happened to entertain more (guests) than was allowed, he went..." And Philochorus too in the seventh book of his *Atthis* says "the inspectors of women inspected, together with the members of the Areopagus, the companies gathered in the houses on occasions of weddings (*gamoi*) and sacrificial feasts (*thusiai*)."

The testimonia of Timocles, Menander and Lynceus cannot be fixed within precise temporal limits. The years in which Timocles' *Philodikastês* and Menander's *Kekruphalon* were produced are not known, and the datable activity of both playwrights permits the production of these plays either just before or during the Phalerean period. Similarly, the activity of Lynceus, brother of Duris of Samos, is not sufficiently well documented to rule out the possibility that he was describing officials introduced before 317; Lynceus may indeed have come to Athens only after the Antigonid liberation of 307/6, and his anecdote could

have been acquired at second-hand.[49] (It seems possible, in fact, that Lynceus' anecdote is drawn from a stock of comic material: Lynceus himself was a writer of comedies, and the inclusion in his *gunaikomonoi* anecdote of a parasite called Chaerophon certainly excites suspicion.)[50] It is primarily Philochorus who bears the burden of dating the *gunaikonomoi*, for Athenaeus assigns the passage he quotes to the seventh book of Philochorus' *Atthis*, a book that is generally supposed to have dealt with Demetrius' administration.[51]

Much of the working of the *gunaikonomoi* also remains obscure: we do not know whether they operated as a board or as individuals, nor what kinds of punishments they published on the plane tree in the Keramikos.[52] About their interests, however, we are better informed. It has already been suggested that part of their concern for the 'good behaviour of women' (as defined by Pollux) was expressed through their enforcement of the laws governing funerals, laws that in many aspects may have targeted the behaviour of women in particular. The passage of Athenaeus cited above gives us evidence of another law policed by the *gunaikonomoi*, a law which restricted to thirty the number of guests permitted at feasts. This provision, described by both Menander and Timocles as a "new law", was most probably enacted by Demetrius. A Phalerean provenance of the law would certainly make sense of the later invective against Demetrius himself that made much of his banqueting. Duris (Demetr. 43A SOD), for example, illu-

---

49 See 307–308 for the careers of Menander, Timocles and Lynceus.

50 Chaerophon the parasite features in many plays by Menander (see Arnott 1998, 35). It is a name used of parasites by earlier comic poets also (instances are collected by Körte 1953, xl–xli). Notably, a parasite Chaerophon was included in Menander's *Kekruphalon*, the play from which Athenaeus cites material on the *gunaikonomoi.*

51 *FGrHist*. 328 F65. For *Atthis* book seven and the Phalerean regime, see 310. It could conceivably be the law, rather than the officials, which prompted the entry in *Atthis* book seven, but it is probable that this apparent emphasis on the banquet law is due to Athenaeus' interest and that Philochorus himself may have been engaged in a much wider-scale treatment of the *gunaikonomoi.*

52 On their composition: in the references to them collected by Athenaeus, Philochorus and Lynceus refer to a group, Timocles to an individual. The discrepancy may be rationalised a number of ways, such as by supposing that individual members of a board were responsible for different areas of the city. Unfortunately there is no pattern in the size of boards of *gunaikonomoi* in other states (as observed already by Will & Martin 1944, 159) which might allow a comparison. On their punishments: Cicero does not specify the punishment attached to Demetrius' funerary laws, nor do Athenaeus' authorities about the banquet law (above 67). Harp. *s.vv. hoti khilias* does indicate that a thousand drachma fine attached to a law governing women's behaviour in public, a law perhaps enforced by *gunaikonomoi* (on which, below 71).

minates the hypocrisy of Demetrius the lawgiver's own lawless life by describing the sumptuousness of his feasts, emphasising that he spent the substantial state revenues not on military resources and administration but on entertaining a multitude of guests. Duris' critique of Demetrius' regulation of the lives of the Athenians, juxtaposed with the account of his banquets, is clearly understandable had the limitation of guests featured among the Phalerean reforms. A passage from Carystius (also at Demetr. 43A SOD) gives the same impression: to highlight Demetrius' transition from poverty to wealth under the Macedonians, Carystius singles out for comment his extravagant feasts and claims that the quantities of food prepared were so large that the chef himself rose to great wealth by selling off the left-overs. This profiting by selling left-overs may well have been designed to imply a gulf between Demetrius' lifestyle and that of many struggling Athenians, and thus recalls Timocles' jibe that the *gunaikonomoi* ought to scrutinise not the extravagant banquets of the rich but rather the houses of the dinnerless. If the criticisms of Duris and Carystius are informed by Demetrius' legislation, we have reason to believe Demetrius the author of that 'new law' in the comic poets and Philochorus.

Although some have been tempted to see this restriction as motivated by economic considerations,[53] Demetrius' law regulating banquets can in fact be interpreted in a light similar to that shed on his burial laws. Underpinning both sets of legislation is a concern for propriety, and more particularly for religious propriety, since it appears that the regulation on guest numbers applied particularly to feasts that had a religious component. Philochorus' application of the guest restriction to gatherings in "marriage-feasts (*gamoi*) and the other sacrificial feasts (*thusiai*)" is indicative of a religious concern: *thusiai* are specifically sacrificial gatherings.[54] Indeed, all the sources contemporary (or near-contemporary) with Demetrius who mention the banquet law (Lynceus, Timocles, Menander, Philochorus) connect it with marriage feasts or other *thusiai*, thus to gatherings of a ceremonial nature. The only place in which the law is extended to secular gatherings is in Athenaeus' own authorial remarks introducing his citations

[53] So for example Bayer 1942, 55. Had the prime motive of the law been the restriction of expense, it would surely have been more straightforward to limit expenditure itself (as Plato, *Nomoi* 775b suggested) rather than limit the number of guests (which would not necessarily have given the same result).

[54] LSJ *s.v. thusia.*

of Menander, Timocles and Philochorus. Having quoted Lynceus, Athenaeus continues, "That it was the custom for the *gunaikonomoi* to observe the *parties (symposia)* and to scrutinise whether the number of guests was in accordance with the law, Timocles says..." Since Athenaeus' knowledge of the law is clearly based on the contemporary sources subsequently quoted, his implicit extension of the restriction on guests to all general *symposia*, rather than to religious feasts in particular, must be regarded as mere inaccuracy on Athenaeus' own part. Demetrius was chiefly concerned, it seems, with restricting religious banquets, and this concern of his *gunaikonomoi* for *religious* feasts is paralleled outside Athens: in a late third-/early second-century inscription from Thasos, a *gunaikonomos* appears to act in collaboration with a *diakonos*, the latter being an official associated with *religious* banquets.[55] It is notable, too, that the kinds of religious banquets singled out for attention are private ones, rather than those of public associations, such as the cult feasts of the phratries; by analogy, it is likely that the restrictions applied also to funerary feasts.[56]

The restrictions on burial practices and on feasts are the only provisions associated with the *gunaikonomoi* directly, but there may well have been other regulations policed by them, particularly given Pollux' definition of these officials as having a general concern for the orderly conduct (*kosmos*) of women.[57] Comparison with law-codes ascribed to other times and other places affords some clues. We might, for example, look to the laws associated with Solon for some explanation of the areas in which female conduct might be regulated. According to tradition he had legislated on their public appearances (*exodoi*). Plutarch (*Sol.* 21.4–5) enumerates some of Solon's restrictions in this area: women were to wear no more than three garments, to carry no more than an obol's worth of food and drink or a pannier over three cubits in height, and they were not to travel by night unless in a lighted carriage. Similar regulations on women's behaviour in public appear in other law-codes. Restrictions on dress and night-time travel were part of a Locrian code ascribed to Zaleucus, which featured also a prohibition on women travelling with more than one slave (Diod. 12.21),

[55] The stone is Pouilloux 1954 no. 154; for the function of the *diakonos*, see his p. 408.

[56] So Engels 1998, 134–35.

[57] The involvement of Demetrius' *gunaikonomoi* in some other areas, such as dowry disputes and in the registration of citizens, is argued against in appendix three.

while the Syracusans had one law curtailing extravagance of dress outside the home and another preventing women leaving their homes at night (to do so was reckoned a confession of adulterous intent) (Athen. 521b–c).[58] In a more securely historical context, in Thasos in the late fourth century there were regulations on dress (Pouilloux 1954 no. 155).

It is quite possible that Demetrius' *gunaikonomoi* enforced analogous legislation governing the behaviour of women outside the home, especially as there are clear hints that such laws did exist in Athens around the time of Demetrius' regime. A law of Lycurgus (Aelian *V.H.* 13.24; [Plut.] *Mor.* 842a–b) prohibited women from journeying to Eleusis by carriage during the Mysteries. In addition, according to the lexicographer Harpocration (*s.vv. hoti khilias*), Hyperides made mention of a law which imposed a thousand drachma fine on women who behaved in a disorderly fashion (*akosmousai*) outdoors (*kata tas hodous*);[59] naming the comic poet Crobylus as his authority, Harpocration attributes this law to one Philippides (identified variously as Philippides of Paiania or his namesake from Kephale).[60] The authorship of Lycurgus and the attestation in Hyperides establish that these laws pre-date Demetrius' regime, but their enforcement may have been transferred to the *gunaikonomoi* on their formation; so too, perhaps, the policing of the undated Athenian law restricting extravagance in clothing alluded to by Diogenes Laertius (6.90).

---

[58] The historicity of the traditions ascribed to ancient lawgivers such as Zaleucus is touched upon below, 98.

[59] On these pre-Demetrian laws see further 99–100. There is a possibility that the laws of Lycurgus and of Philippides are one and the same. Attached to the reports of Lycurgus' law, for example, are anecdotes recounting the violation of the law by Lycurgus' own wife, and Lycurgus may have been (falsely) made the author of the law to heighten the dramatic impact of his wife's transgression. (The lawgiver condemned under his own law is something of a *topos*: it allegedly happened to Charondas (Diod. 12.19); Diocles of Syracuse (Diod. 13.33, 55) and Sulla (Plut. *Sulla* 35.2–3); also to Zaleucus, Cleisthenes and Pericles (Ael. *V.H.* 13.24). Discrepancies in [Plutarch's] and Aelian's versions of the incident suggest that it too may have been fabricated.) Conversely, it may be the authorship of Philippides which is questionable: the authority for it is a comic poet (Crobylus) and, if Philippides of Kephale were meant, we have a case of one comic poet talking about another comic poet. Given, however, that Philippides' law appears a more comprehensive measure than Lycurgus', and given that there is a difference in fine associated with them (six thousand drachmas for Lycurgus' law, one thousand for Philippides') it may be preferable to retain the two as distinct.

[60] For Philippides of Paiania see Davies 1971, no. 14361, of Kephale no. 14356. The prevalence of the name in *LGPN* cautions against the assumption that the author of the law must be one of these two individuals.

Laws governing women's conduct *kata tas hodous*, just like the laws on burials and banquets, may well have had a moral and religious agenda. The appearance of women in public was generally linked to religious occasions. Thus, in his treatment of Solon's laws on women, Plutarch defines the regulation of 'public appearances' as the regulation of mourning and of festivals—both areas of religious significance—and this connection of women's *exodoi* with primarily religious occasions is supported by surveys of similar *gunaikonomoi* and the legislation policed by them throughout the Greek world. In Adania, for example, *gunaikonomoi* regulated the dress and behaviour of women in religious processions (*SIG*^{3} 736 ll. 26, 32); they are involved with religious festivals in Magnesia (*SIG*^{3} 589), and with burials at Gambreium (*SIG*^{3} 1219). Given this focus on religious affairs in the public appearances of women (at feasts, burials and religious festivals), it is unsurprising that commentators on *gunaikonomoi* have emphasised the concern for religious and moral propriety as a key concern of such officials throughout the Greek world.[61] With their same emphasis on the decorous behaviour, the *eukosmia*, in mourning, in festivals, and in the public appearances of women, the *gunaikonomoi* of Demetrius thus implemented a programme of moral and religious reform.

2.3 *The* nomophulakes

Perhaps the most interesting—and controversial—of Demetrius' institutions is that of the board of so-called 'law-guardians', the *nomophulakes*. As with the *gunaikonomoi*, any treatment of Demetrius' *nomophulakes* must begin on a cautionary note: his responsibility for their creation is insecurely attested, although the existence of such officials during his regime is rarely questioned.[62] Pollux, in his work on nomenclature (*Onomastikon*), gives the only explicit association of Demetrius of Phalerum with a board of this name. So Pollux 8.102 = Demetr. F52 SOD:

---

[61] Thus Garland 1981, 56ff; Will & Martin 1944, 159–60; Wehrli 1962b, 34; De Bruyn 1995, 174; Gehrke 1978, 168.

[62] That Demetrius did create the *nomophulakes* has become a commonplace in treatments of the regime (and indeed elsewhere: compare Hansen 1974. 55), and is rarely gainsaid (although see below 73). Gagarin 2000, 352 is judiciously cautious about both *nomophulakes* and *gunaikonomoi*: "it seems likely that Demetrius created, or more likely reconstituted the boards of *gunaikonomoi* to oversee women's activities and *nomophulakes* to oversee religious and political activity."

> The eleven (*hoi hendeka*) was composed of one man from each tribe, a secretary being included in this number. In the time of the Phalerean (*kata ton Phalerea*) their name was changed to 'Guardians of the Law' (*nomophulakes*). They took care of those in prison (*en tôi desmôtêriôi*), and arrested thieves, slave-dealers and robbers, to put them to death if they admitted (their crime), and if (they did) not, to bring them before the courts of justice, and if they were convicted, to execute them. One door of the office of the Guardians of the Law (*tou de nomophulakiou thura mia*) was called the door of Charon, through which (those convicted) were taken away on their way to death.

Pollux' *kata ton Phalerea* may mean merely "according to the Phalerean," but the inclusion by Philochorus of material on the *nomophulakes* in the seventh book of his *Atthis* (*FGrHist.* 328 F64, quoted below 76) may furnish a reason for supposing that Pollux' text should indeed be rendered "in the time of the Phalerean." The issue of authorship is complicated, however, by the testimony of the lexicographer Harpocration, whose entry *s.v. nomophulakes* contains, along with a paraphrase of Philochorus' description of these officials, a claim that *nomophulakes* were mentioned by the orator Dinarchus in two speeches, one against Himeraeus, the other against Pytheas. While Dinarchus' most prolific period was under the aegis of Demetrius, the individual speeches raise chronological difficulties: if the standard identifications are correct, Pytheas had left Athens to join the Macedonian forces during the Lamian War (Plut. *Demos.* 27), while Himeraeus, brother of Demetrius of Phalerum, was executed on the orders of the Macedonian general Antipater in 323/22.[63] There is thus a *prima facie* case for supposing that both of Dinarchus' speeches in which the *nomophulakes* were mentioned pre-date Demetrius of Phalerum's period of rule; so, indeed, maintained Ferguson and Jacoby, who consequently regarded these officials as a Lycurgan institution retained under Demetrius.[64]

The evidence from Dinarchus is, however, rather inconclusive. Dinarchus could well have been referring, as a historical digression, to the earlier, fifth-century manifestation of the board for whose existence (or more particularly, a fourth-century belief in whose existence) I have argued elsewhere.[65] More significantly still, the date of neither

[63] The standard identification of Pytheas is that of Kirchner (*PA* 12342).

[64] Jacoby, commentary on *FGrHist.* 328 F64; Ferguson 1911b, 271.

[65] O'Sullivan 2001. For Bayer 1942, 134, Dinarchus' *nomophulakes* might not even have been historical, but rather an allusion to the putative officials designated thus by Plato. Harpocration, however, appears to assume that the orator was referring to an actual Athenian office.

the speech against Pytheas nor that against Himeraeus can in fact be established with certainty, even if the Pytheas and Himeraeus in question have been correctly identified. Pytheas' departure from Athens does not provide an absolute terminus, for according to the *Suda s.v. Pytheas*, his absence was temporary, and he could well have returned to Athens and faced subsequent prosecutions.[66] The case of Himeraeus is more complicated still, for while there is little doubt that Himeraeus died before Demetrius' elevation to power, it is less clear that any speech concerning him necessarily antedates his death.[67] Himeraeus' death became a focus of dissent, being used against Demetrius by his political opponents (see below, 211–12), and the circulation of a 'fictitious' prosecution speech (that is, one composed after Himeraeus' death but given a dramatic context of a prosecution against him in his lifetime—Polycrates' pamphlet against Socrates is the obvious comparison here) will have served to counter the calumny of Demetrius' detractors. Could Dinarchus' speech against Himeraeus have been such a work?[68] There is reason to suppose so. In the catalogue of Dinarchus' speeches compiled by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the speech against Himeraeus is entered in an unparalleled fashion as an 'eisangeltic' speech against Himeraeus (*kat' Himeraeou eisangeltikon*). *Eisangeltikon* is unusual terminology: normally, if a speech were for delivery in an *eisangelia* proceeding, Dionysius denotes it as '*eisangelia kata*…'. His sole use

[66] Two orations against Pytheas are listed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his index of Dinarchus' works in the *De Dinarcho*: one, on a charge of false citizenship (*xenia*), must belong to the mid 330s, since Phocion (Plut. *Phoc.* 21.1) apparently alludes to it in the context of Athenian debates about supplying triremes to Alexander; the other was composed for a prosecution *peri tôn kata to emporion*. There is a fitting context for a prosecution speech in the 320s, as Pytheas is known to have been prosecuted shortly before his withdrawal from Athens (Demosthenes mentions a fine in *Epistle* 3.30; the *Suda s.v. Pytheas* also suggests a conviction), but we cannot be sure that this was the occasion of Dinarchus' speech, for neither prosecutor nor charge are revealed by the sources.

[67] There is also little reason to believe that the speech was part of the prosecution in 322 that secured Himeraeus' condemnation and execution. Himeraeus and those other democratic politicians whose condemnation was sought by Antipater had fled Athens even before they were denounced in the assembly. The only speech to be delivered was that of Demades in bringing the motion for condemnation (Plut. *Phoc.* 27.3), and an orator of Demades' accomplishment would scarcely have required the speech-writing services of Dinarchus.

[68] The idea is not entirely new: see Gerhke 1978, 188–91, esp. 190; rejected by Wallace 1989, 203. The notion was countenanced but dismissed as bizarre as early as De Sanctis 1913, 7.

of *eisangeltikos* may distinguish this speech against Himeraeus: it was perhaps only 'in the form of' a treason prosecution, composed not for actual court delivery but to defend Demetrius against the later polemic of his enemies.

Without any firm evidence for the delivery dates of the speeches against Pytheas and Himeraeus, and without any idea of the context in which the *nomophulakes* are mentioned, the Dinarchan material is, in fact, of limited use for establishing the date of the introduction of these officials. We are left, then, with the other evidence from the various paraphrases of Philochorus by the lexicographers. While hardly definitive, those indications—the appearance of *nomophulakes* in book seven of Philochorus' *Atthis*, the mention of Demetrius by Pollux at 8.102—do nonetheless suggest that such officials existed under Demetrius, and may further hint that it was he who introduced them into the fourth-century Athenian state; certainty remains, however, beyond our grasp.

These uncertainties of dating have served to obscure what is a more significant question: what did Demetrius' *nomophulakes* actually do?[69] Pollux' account at 8.102, as given above, is the only source to associate these officials directly with Demetrius. But it is not Pollux' description of the *nomophulakes* that is accepted in modern analyses of Demetrius' regime, for it is considered that Pollux' account is garbled and that what he is describing at 8.102 were properly *desmophulakes* (gaol-guardians) and not *nomophulakes*.[70] Rather, Demetrius' officials

[69] The title itself is inconclusive. *Nomophulakes* (and the analogous *thesmophulakes*) are attested throughout the Greek world in a wide variety of applications: Christophilopoulos 1968 compiles a convenient summary (cf. E. Ziebarth, *RE s.v. nomophulakes* col. 832–33; also Sciascia 1965). The magisterial supervision associated with such officials by Philochorus (see below) is extensively paralleled (e.g. in Pergamum: *OGIS* 483 ll. 15ff). But the same title is found in Elis for officials responsible for training arbiters for athletic contests (Paus. 6.24.3), while in Ceos (Ceos *IG* xii.5.594) and in the Athenian deme Rhamnous (*IG* ii^2 1311 ll.6ff) it denotes archivists. At the other extreme are Plato's *nomophulakes*, who had jurisdiction over just about everything (see Morrow 1960, 195–211). Obviously, the term was not reserved for magistrates of a single, given function.

[70] Despite the ingenious attempt of Sundwall 1906, 14 n. 6 to discover such officials in an Athenian decree of 304/3 (*IG* ii^2 488), the term *desmophulakes* is not attested as an official title in an Athenian context; it appears only in some scholia as an explanation of the functions of the eleven gaolers, themselves called *hoi hendeka* (e.g. Schol. Dem. 22.26 p. 601, 19 Dindorf; Schol. Dem. 24. 80 p. 726, 8).

are usually thought to be those defined for us in the following late paraphrases of the third-century Attidographer, Philochorus (*FGrHist.* 328 F64):[71]

> *Lexicon Cantabrigiense* (henceforth *Lex. Cantab.*) p. 351, 10N = *Lexica Graeca Minora* ed. K. Latte and H. Erbse (Hildesheim 1965) p. 82: *Nomophulakes*: they are different from the *thesmothetai*, as Philochorus says in his seventh book. For the archons went garlanded to the Areopagus, but the *nomophulakes*, with white headbands, sat in the theatre opposite the nine archons, and conducted the procession to Pallas. They compelled the magistrates to follow the laws, and sat in the assembly and *boulê* with the *proedroi*, preventing things disadvantageous to the city. There were seven and they were instituted, as Philochorus says, when Ephialtes left to the Areopagus only its competence for homicide.

> Harpocration s.v. *Nomophulakes*: this was the name of a certain magistracy among the Athenians, different from the *thesmothetai*. Dinarchus [mentions them] in his speeches *Against Himeraeus* and *Against Pytheas*. Philochorus describes certain things about them in his seventh book, and that they compelled the magistrates to follow the laws.

Pollux' own entry under *nomophulakes* at 8.94 must also derive from Philochorus:

> *Nomophulakes*: they were crowned with a white headband, and conducted the procession to the goddess, and they sat in the assemblies with the *proedroi*, preventing the voting of anything disadvantageous.

In some ways, it is indeed tempting to identify Philochorus' *nomophulakes* with those same officials imposed by Demetrius of Phalerum. With their ability to intervene in some way in the functioning of other magistrates and of the council and assembly, such *nomophulakes* would have been an ideal instrument for any ruler keen to curb the freedoms of the Athenian *dêmos*, and there has been an easy assumption that Demetrius may have been under just such pressure to make the institutions of that Athenian *dêmos* conform to the wishes of Cassander, his Macedonian backer and overlord. *Nomophulakes* as described by Philochorus would have represented a significant modification of the workings of the democracy under Demetrius, and as such they have claimed a prominent place in treatments of his regime.[72]

---

[71] To the paraphrases printed below may be added the entry in Photius and the *Suda svv. hoi nomophulakes* (= *FGrHist.* 328 F64 b (b)) which replicates in its essentials the *Lex. Cantab.* report. For further detail, see below, 77 n. 75.

[72] Philochoran *nomophulakes* are accepted in all monographs and articles devoted

But clearly there are problems with this approach. For one, it demands the rejection of the only two pieces of evidence to give an explicit context for their discussions, namely Pollux 8.102, with his Phalerean *nomophulakes*, and the *Lexicon Cantabrigiense*, in which it is stated that Philochorus was describing *nomophulakes* active not in the late fourth, but in the mid-fifth century after the 462/61 reforms of Ephialtes.[73] In addition, to suppose that Pollux intended *desmophulakes* when he wrote of *nomophulakes* at 8.102 is to suppose that Pollux has mistakenly replaced a more obvious term with a less congruent one: *desmophulakes* is a title that fits more naturally for officials in charge of the gaol or *desmotêrion*, as the *hendeka* formerly had been.[74] Finally, Philochorus' account itself is rendered somewhat problematic if his *nomophulakes* are transposed from the mid-fifth to the late-fourth centuries. His account, opening as it does with a distinction between the *nomophulakes* and the six junior archons or *thesmothetai*, indicates that some confusion had grown up between these two sets of officials; such a confusion is certainly assumed by the versions of Philochorus in Photius and the *Suda*.[75] It is difficult to see how this confusion could have arisen by Philochorus' day were the *nomophulakes* he was thus describing an institution of Demetrius of Phalerum. Philochorus was, after all, writing not long after the Phalerean period,[76] and any misinformation to which he is reacting must predate the composition of his *Atthis*. An erroneous identification of *nomophulakes* and *thesmothetai*

---

to Demetrius (most notably, for example, in Gehrke 1978 (esp.) 151–62 and Williams 1983a) as well as in the wider literature (so, for example, Boeckh 1871, 424–25, and Hansen 1974, 55 & 1991, 211).

[73] Against earlier attempts to reject the authenticity of the final line of the *Lex. Cantab.* account, and for the plausibility of Philochorus locating his *nomophulakes* in the fifth century, see O'Sullivan 2001, esp. 53–55.

[74] Pollux' account, complete with *nomophulakes* rather than *desmophulakes*, occurs also in the scholion on Plato *Phaidon* 59. There is further a tradition in the lexicographers (*Suda s.vv. nomophulakiou thura*; Hesychius s.v. *kharôneion*; Zenobius 6.41 *kharônios thura*) that gives *nomophulakion* as a name for the Athenian gaol, a tradition which lends some support to Pollux 8.102. For full discussion, see O'Sullivan 2001, 55–57.

[75] For confusion between *thesmothetai* and *nomophulakes*, see also Photius/*Suda s.v. nomophulakes*, where the entry begins with acknowledgement and explanation of the confusion between the two: "it seemed to some that these (i.e. *the nomophulakes*) are the same as the *thesmothetai*. But it is not so..." The basis of the confusion may lie in the competence of the *thesmothetai* to bring into court charges of *graphê paranomôn* (so Harp. s.v. *themsothetai*, Poll. 8.87); trials on this charge serve the purpose exercised by Philochorus' *nomophulakes*.

[76] See below, 310 for Philochorus' *floruit*.

is more easily accommodated if Philochorus' *nomophulakes* do belong in the mid-fifth century. On such grounds, Pollux' association of Demetrius, *nomophulakes* and the eleven gaolers merits more serious consideration.

In fact, some connection between Demetrius' *nomophulakes* and the former Athenian officials called the *hendeka* makes sense against the backdrop of the concern for orderly behaviour that has been identified above in other aspects of Demetrius' legislation. The eleven gaolers were concerned with punishment of wrongdoers, or *kakourgoi*, a concern that extended beyond their mere supervision of the gaol; they presided over the courts in various criminal cases, and Wilamowitz indeed suggested that they may originally have exercised judicial authority over some offences in their own right.[77] If Demetrius' *nomophulakes* assumed such duties, then they too would have been acting to curtail the excesses of personal behaviour in a fashion analogous to that of the *gunaikonomoi*.

This is not to argue, however, that Demetrius' officials were simply the *hendeka* operating under a new name. The title *nomophulakes*, and Philochorus' association of *nomophulakes* with powers wielded originally by that prestigious council of ex-archons, the Areopagus, points to a broader competence. In the *Athênaiôn Politeia*, [Aristotle] has some interesting remarks about the 'guardianship of the laws', or *nomophulakia*, as exercised by the Areopagus prior to the reform of that body by Ephialtes in the fifth-century. At *Ath. Pol.* 3.6, where the constitution prior to the reforms of Draco is described, the Areopagus is stated to have the responsibility of observing the laws (*diatêrein tous nomous*); at 4.4 (under Draco) and again at 8.4 (under Solon) it is described as guardian of the laws (*phulax… tôn nomôn*) and as being set to guard the laws (*epi to nomophulakein*). The precise nature of that guardianship is often vague. It is claimed of Draco's Areopagus that it "watched over the magistrates so that they governed in accordance with the laws" (*Ath. Pol.* 4.4);[78] guardianship of the laws may further

[77] [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 52.2. On the eleven, see Hansen 1976; on their courts, Ar. *Vesp.* 1108, Harp. *s.v. parabuston*, with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 222 n. 70.

[78] A similar supervision of magistrates in particular may be encompassed in the claim of *Ath. Pol.* 8.4 that, under Solon, the Areopagus' guardianship entailed the scrutiny, fining and punishment of wrongdoers (*tous hamartanontas euthunen… kai zêmioun kai kolazein*) if *euthunen* is here an allusion to the procedure of *euthunai* undertaken for officials; Rhodes 1993, 155 does not believe that the scrutiny described here was restricted to magistrates, and its applicability to all citizens, not just office-bearers, is accepted below.

have entailed some kind of control over what measures were enacted by the assembly, perhaps through the prohibition of illegal measures or the prosecution of proposers of such measures, but this is more controversial.[79]

Thus far, the *nomophulakia* being exercised by the Areopagus before Ephialtes' reforms accords reasonably well with the duties ascribed by Philochorus to the officials called *nomophulakes*, particularly in the similar concern for compelling the magistrates to use the laws. But there is yet another aspect of the Areopagus' guardianship, involving a general scrutiny of behaviour of a sort that may well provide a link between the concept of *nomophulakia* and the duties of Demetrius' *nomophulakes*. In fourth-century opinion, an important facet of the early Areopagite *nomophulakia* was, in fact, a general scrutiny of the morality and behaviour of all citizens, not just of the magistrates; it is this very function of the Areopagus that is focused on by some of our Atthidographers (notably Androtion and Phanodemus).[80] The term *nomophulakia* itself conjures up this more wideranging significance, since in fifth-century usage *nomos* covered 'customary behaviour' rather than simply 'codified law'.[81] Just such a broader application of the Areopagus' *nomophulakia* emerges at two points in the *Athênaiôn Politeia*: at 3.6 (prior to Draco) the Areopagus is said to have the power to fine and to punish all the disorderly (*pantas tous akosmountas*) and at 8.4 (under Solon) it is similarly described as having the power to

[79] Indeed the precise import, and beyond that the historicity, of the various competences ascribed in the *Ath. Pol.* to the early Areopagus are keenly disputed. There is controversy about whether the process of magisterial *euthunai* was ever conducted by the Areopagus (*pro*, see Rhodes 1993, 315–19; Wallace 1974; Sealey 1964, 19ff; contra Rihll 1995, 88–90, and de Bruyn 1995, 63–73, who doubts that supervision of magistrates was ever a function of the Areopagus); apart from the passage in *Ath. Pol.* 8.4 quoted in the note above, the only evidence for Areopagite *euthunai* comes from the rather conflicting tradition about the investigation of Cimon ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 27.1; Plut. *Cim.* 14). The existence of an Areopagite power to prohibit illegal motions in the assembly is similarly disputed, especially by Hignett 1958, 208–13 who deems it anachronistic to look for any such safeguard before the introduction, in the late-fifth century, of the *graphê paranomon*. Wallace 1989, 61 on the other hand, sees in the (Solonian?) law cited at Dem. 23.62 and the *boulê* oath of 410 (*IG* i^3 105 ll.28–29) at least some indication that safeguards against illegal proposals were conceptually possible at an earlier date.

[80] Harding 1977, 154 n. 39; for relevant fragments of the Atthidographers see *FGrHist.* 324 FF3–4, 325 F10.

[81] On this broader application of *nomophulakia*, compare Hignett 1958, 209; Cawkwell 1988; Wallace 1989, 61–64. On the meaning of *nomos*, Ostwald 1969, esp. 21ff.

scrutinise, fine and punish wrongdoers (*tous hamartanontas*). These statements correspond closely to the views of Isocrates, who attributes to the early Areopagus the maintenance of *eukosmia* (*Areopagiticus* 37) and *eutaxia* (*Areopagiticus* 39); that this supervision is envisaged as applying to all Athenians, and not just magistrates, is clear from *Areopagiticus* 46, where it is asserted that the Areopagus supervised each man's way of life, and those misbehaving (*akosmountas*) were called to account.

Whether the Athenian writers were correct in ascribing to the early Areopagus this power of scrutiny, or whether they were rather seeking to provide historical justification for an accretion by the Areopagus of such powers in the mid-fourth century (on which, see further 149ff), is hard to determine. It does seem, however, that the Areopagus had a strong enough claim on the punishment of wrongdoers for it to be found exercising that role in the fourth century and later. From Dinarchus in the fourth century we get an association of a general supervision with the contemporary board, when he claims in his speech against Demosthenes that the Areopagus was currently competent to punish all law-breakers.[82] The association of the Areopagus and supervision of good behaviour emerges too in Roman times, for an inscription of the early Roman period documents the Areopagus punishing criminals (*kakourgoi*).[83]

This aspect of the Areopagus' *nomophulakia*, namely the concern for the proper behaviour and decorum of the citizens, is expressed in very general terms. It may bring to mind the various judicial competences ascribed to that body, such as its power, allegedly vested in it by Solon, to bring charges of treason (*eisangelia*: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 8.4); a formerly extensive judicial role for the Areopagus is suggested by the tradition that Ephialtes' reforms left it with a very much curtailed sphere of influence (homicide, wounding, arson and certain religious misdemeanours were apparently retained in the Areopagus' competence).[84]

---

[82] Din. 1.6; 62. These remarks are discussed in detail below, 149ff.

[83] *IG* ii^2 1013, with Geagan 1967. While the Areopagus' acquisition of this competence over *kakourgoi* cannot, on current evidence, be dated precisely, it is tempting to see it as a consequence of the existence of *nomophulakes*. The law-guardians had assumed some competence over *kakourgoi* from the eleven; on their abolition in 307/6, their power of *nomophulakia* over such wrongdoers was transferred to that body to which such scrutiny was reputed to have originally belonged—the Areopagus.

[84] See Rhodes 1993, 315 for relevant literature.

But the concern for proper behaviour seems to have a broader, more supervisory aspect than is revealed by these purely judicial functions. A clear example comes from the Atthidographers Phanodemus and Philochorus (*FGrHist.* 328 F196 and *FGrHist.* 325 F10), who claim that the Areopagites in early times would summon and punish spendthrifts and those living beyond their means. This is reminiscent of the remarks of Isocrates (7.43–6), in which he claims that the Athenians' forefathers assigned to each man a vocation which was within his means and thus encouraged the needier towards farming and trade; Isocrates closely links this interest in livelihoods with the Areopagus' scrutiny of individuals. Isocrates and the Atthidographers may here be alluding to the law against idleness, the *nomos argias*, a law over which the historicity of the Areopagus' jurisdiction is much contested.[85] Yet even if our sources here are not historically accurate in ascribing to the early Areopagus this competence to oversee individuals' means, the fundamental point remains: fourth-century Athenian writers could believe that the early Areopagus, in exercising its *nomophulakia*, had the power to scrutinise and check the behaviour of individual citizens. Moreover, if the investigation of livelihoods is typical of this facet of the Areopagus' scrutiny, then one of the aims of that scrutiny will have been the prevention of wrongdoing among the citizens: this, at least, is the understanding of Isocrates, who claims that the assignation of livelihoods was designed to alleviate poverty because evil-doing (*kakourgia*) comes about through poverty.[86] The major implication to be drawn is that *nomophulakia*, the guardianship associated with the early Areopagus, could include a general *cura morum* and power to punish all those who transgressed the laws (that is, punishment of *tous akosmountas* "disorderly behaviour", and of *tous hamartanontas* "criminal offences" to use the phrasing of the *Athenaion Politeia*).[87]

This aspect of the Areopagus' supervision, of its *nomophulakia*, provides a context in which Demetrius of Phalerum's renaming of the eleven gaolers as *nomophulakes* begins to make sense. The realm of

---

[85] Plut. *Sol.* 22 has the Areopagus responsible for *argia* cases; contra Harrison 1968, 80 n. 1. The authorship of the law is similarly contentious: see the conflicting versions of Hdt. 2.177.2 and Diod. 1.77.5 (for Solon); for Draco, Diog. Laert. 1.55, Poll. 8.42. Plut. *Sol.* 17.2, 22.3 gives both Draco and Solon a role; Theophrastus argued for Peisistratus (Plut. *Sol.* 31.5 = Theophr. 608 FHS&G).

[86] The original object of the idleness law has also been debated. Harrison saw it as an attempt to prevent the squandering of ancestral property, others (e.g. Dreizehnter 1978) as an attempt to safeguard against poor conduct.

[87] See Wallace 1989, 42 for the distinction between these terms.

the *hendeka* had been with the wrongdoers; as *nomophulakes*, their competence was no doubt expanded. In this regard some testimony from Cicero is particularly striking. In *De Legibus* 3.46 he mentions *nomophulakes* and defines them as officials who "used to observe the deeds of men and recall them to the laws" (*facta hominum observabant ad legesque revocabant*). Cicero's description is consistent with the notion of officials who exercised some scrutiny of the daily lives of citizens (not just of magistrates, who are dealt with in 3.47), as is Cicero's selection of censors to assume this rôle in a Roman context: after all, the censors (according to Livy 4.8) exerted control over behaviour and orderly conduct. Cicero's *nomophulakes* look in fact very much like the kind of officials argued for here, and an equation of his description with Demetrius' *nomophulakes* gains greater weight when it is remembered that Cicero was familiar with, and approved of, Demetrius and his government.[88] Cicero may give us reason to believe Demetrius' officials did indeed function as overseers of public morality and behaviour.

Historical resonances and parallels, by the way, are not lacking for *nomophulakes* of the kind for which argument is here staged. *Nomophulakes* are to be found in Magnesia (*IG* ix.2.1109) enforcing religious statutes and overseeing the punishment of those who commit offences in a sacred grove; in Ptolemaic Egypt, they are found supervising the punishment administered to slaves guilty of misdemeanours (*P. Lille* 1.29 col.1.28–33).[89] This Egyptian manifestation, which bears some similarity to the duty of the Athenian *hendeka*,[90] is

---

[88] For Cicero's approval of Demetrius, see *De Leg.* 2.64, 2.66 and 3.14, as well as *De Rep.* 2.2. A possible connection with Demetrius was posited earlier by Bayer 1942, 30. Cicero also suggests that the *nomophulakes* were responsible for the official texts of laws. Demetrius' *nomophulakes* may have performed this task; equally, Cicero may have conflated the Phalerean *nomophulakes* with other, primarily secretarial, *nomophulakes* well attested in the Hellenistic period (above, 75 n. 69).

[89] It ought be noted that the term *nomophulakes* does not appear in its entirety in the fragments: the most extensive survival is]*mophulakôn* at col.1.33. The occurrence on other Ptolemaic papyri of *nomophulakes* exercising similar functions (compare *P. Hamb.* 168a ll.3–4, 12–13 quoted by Fraser 1972, 204 n. 162, 205 n. 164) would suggest that the restoration of *nomophulakes* in *P. Lille* 1.29 is plausible.

[90] Ferguson 1911b, 276 indeed adjudged these Egyptian officials to be of Phalerean origin and to be exercising the functions similar to those of the Athenian *hendeka*, but his thesis has not met with unqualified approval: see the reservations of Jouguet 1928, 126. That Demetrius' influence is to be discerned at all in the appearance of Ptolemaic *nomophulakes* must remain highly speculative. Ptolemy will have had many other law codes and prior Pharonic institutions to draw upon for inspiration (and *nomophu-*

potentially significant, given the influence of Demetrius on Ptolemaic legislation claimed by Aelian (*V.H.* 3.17 = Demetr. 40 SOD: "…in Egypt, too, where [Demetrius] was associated with Ptolemy, he was responsible for legislation").[91] There may even have been a precedent for *nomophulakes* of such a kind within Athens itself, if a reference to *nomophulakes* in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* applies to an historical Athenian board: at 9.14, the speaker Ischomachus, striving to explain household management through analogy with statecraft, claims that 'well ordered cities' are not content only to pass good laws, but also appoint *nomophulakes* as overseers (*episkopountes*) to commend the law-abiding and chastise the lawbreakers. His description is certainly suggestive of magistrates responsible for the enforcement of orderly conduct among the citizens.[92]

In the light of these various considerations, Pollux' version of the *nomophulakes* at 8.102 deserves more credit than it is usually granted. To argue for the plausibility of his record, however, is not to urge the complete dissociation of Philochorus' material from Demetrius' regime. Philochorus does appear, after all, to have included his treatment of the *nomophulakes* in the very book (*Atthis* book seven) believed to have dealt with Demetrius' rule. The beliefs current in the fourth century about the early Areopagus and its *nomophulakia* (as traced above) allow a different accommodation of Philochorus' material, essentially as the historical background within a broader analysis of the Phalerean period in that book. The *nomophulakes* which Philochorus describes, and the *nomophulakes* created by Demetrius, shared a common ancestry: both inherited aspects of the *nomophulakia* that writers in the fourth century believed to have been exercised by the Areopagus before Ephialtes reformed that body in 462/61. In the case of the fifth-century *nomophulakes*, whose existence is preserved in the paraphrases

---

lakes indeed can be found in Cyrene, a Ptolemaic province, before Demetrius' arrival in Egypt: see *SEG* 18.726). For the same reason, one must be cautious about attributing to Demetrius' *gunaikonomoi* functions exercised by homonymous Ptolemaic officials, such as the registration of citizens documented on two fragments of the Hibeh papyri (see Turner 1955, document 156 and Bingen 1957).

[91] Similarity between the law codes of Athens and Alexandria is claimed also by *P. Oxy*. 2177, ll.13–14.

[92] Pomeroy 1994, 302 takes the reference as applying to a historical Athenian office. The dramatic context of the *Oikonomikos* is indeed Athens (see Pomeroy's commentary on *Oec.* 11.14), but there remains a possibility that Xenophon is drawing on his knowledge of officials other than those of Athens (he was certainly acquainted with Theban, Spartan and Persian systems).

of Philochorus, that inheritance took the form of a scrutiny of magistrates and the monitoring of the activity of the *boule* and the assembly; Demetrius' later *nomophulakes* assumed the more general scrutiny of the behaviour of the citizens. On this reconstruction, it is probable that Philochorus himself covered not only the fifth-century board, but went on to outline the functions of Demetrius' *nomophulakes*, and that this subsequent material has simply been passed over by the lexicographers who have preserved Philochorus' account.[93]

A tantalising possible parallel for the overall framework posited here for Philochorus' account is afforded by an ill-preserved papyrus called the *Anonymus Argentinensis*. The exact nature of this document is disputed: some connection with Demosthenes is generally allowed, but whether it is an epitome of a commentary on one of Demosthenes' speeches, or part of a treatise on that orator by Didymus, is less clear.[94] The pertinent section is Col. v, ll.19–25, which, despite its fragmentary state, clearly concerns a discussion of *thesmothetai*, after which come mentions of *nomophulakes* and 'eleven men' (*[an]drôn IA*); this last item has been taken as a reference to *the* eleven, the *hendeka*.)[95] In its highly lacunose state, the passage is too poorly preserved to determine the precise relationship of these three elements—*thesmothetai*, *nomophulakes*, and the eleven—,[96] but it is possible that the very appearance here of the *thesmothetai* and the eleven is not simply coincidence. It is possible that the *Anon. Argent.* col. v 19–25 contains a report very similar to that of the postulated 'full text' of Philochorus on the *nomophulakes*, in which the relationships between the three offices may have been explored: first the relationship between *thesmothetai* and *nomophulakes* (just as survives in the Philochorus fragments) and

---

[93] As Jacoby has already noted in his commentary on *FGrHist.* 328 F64 (see esp. n. 2), we could expect Philochorus' account to have included both systematic and historical material; the interest of the lexicographers was more inclined towards the descriptive component, and so (with the exception of the *Lex. Cantab.*, with its claim that the *nomophulakes* were created in the wake of Ephialtes' reforms) these derivative accounts omit the historical context of the magistrates described. This will account for some of the very selective presentation in the surviving citations of the material in Philochorus' original; so too will the use of a common intermediary, rather than direct access to the full text of Philochorus' *Atthis* itself (as Starker 1875, 26–27 believes to have been the case).

[94] Compare Wilcken 1907 and Laqueur 1908.

[95] Thus Wilcken's edition.

[96] Wilcken deemed it impossible to decide whether each represented a new lemma, or whether some or all belonged together.

then a transition to the eleven. Divergences in phraseology and emphasis from the excerpts of Philochorus are sufficient to demonstrate that the papyrus is not a direct paraphrase of Philochorus himself, but it is worth noting that the papyrus passage does contain a clear allusion to the work of chronographers (*hai chronographiai*) among whom Philochorus could be numbered; it seems, then, that the information is derived from sources such as Atthidographers like Philochorus.[97] It is possible that Philochorus' full account of *nomophulakes* in the seventh book of his *Atthis* similarly dealt with the *nomophulakes* in both their fifth- and fourth- century manifestations, and that the preserved comparison between the earlier board and the *thesmothetai* was thus followed by a treatment of the subsequent board and the eleven.

This reconstruction of the late fourth-century 'guardians of the law' dictates significant changes to the traditional picture of Demetrius' regime overall, in which *nomophulakes* who influenced the passage of resolutions in the assembly and scrutinised the behaviour of magistrates were a central element. The functioning of the organs of government is assessed in the light of this different understanding of the law-guardians in the next chapter. But on the understanding of their functions argued for above, Demetrius' *nomophulakes* do form part of a coherent legislative programme. Like the *gunaikonomoi*, who enforced the observance of appropriate behaviour, the *eukosmia*, of women and religious propriety in burials, the *nomophulakes* may have been concerned with checking wrongdoers (*tous akosmountas* and *tous hamartanontas*). A brief passage in Aristotle's *Politics* corroborates just such a relationship between the supervision exercised by *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes*. At 1322b37, he concludes an overview of the types of officials necessary to various types of state with a list of those magistrates peculiar to more leisured and prosperous states. In addition to the offices vital to the functioning of any city, such states

[97] Philochorus in the *Lex. Cantab.* version has, for example, *hoi archontes anebainon eis Arion pagon*, while as part of its material on the *thesmothetai*, the *Anon. Argentin.* has *metebainon…Arion pagon*. The author of the *Anon. Argentin.* may have used Philochorus among other chronographers; if Laqueur was right in attributing the work to Didymus, the possibility of some Philochoran input is strengthened, since Didymus knew his *Atthis* (see Jacoby, introduction to Philochorus *FGrHist.* 328 p. 239); moreover De Sanctis 1912, 201–2 n. 2, discussing the source of Plutarch's information in *Sol.* 23, has suggested that Plutarch's information on Demetrius of Phalerum came via Didymus.

may, out of concern for *eukosmia*, have boards for the supervision of women (*gunaikonomia*), laws (*nomophulakia*), youth (*paidonomia*), the gymnasia (*gymnasiarkhia*), and for the oversight of competitions (including Dionysian contests). *Gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* are here treated as analogous magistracies concerned with the maintenance of *eukosmia*; Aristotle's grouping seems to imply that the point of *nomophulakia* is to compel (male) citizens to observe *eukosmia*, just as *gunaikonomoi* compelled women and *paidonomoi*, boys.[98]

Demetrius' reforms, with his introduction of *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes*, and his specific legislation targeting banquets and burials, evince a similar concern. The common theme uniting his reforms is a focus upon the behaviour of the Athenians, their personal behaviour in general but more especially their behaviour in religious contexts such as funerals and feasts. His two supervisory boards were both instrumental to this purpose. Such legislative forays were understandably felt to be intrusive; the resulting hostility can still be felt in the jibes in the poets (most notably Timocles) about the working of the *gunaikonomoi*: "Open now the doors, so that we may be more visible by the light, in case the *gunaikonomos*, doing his rounds, wants to check the number of the dinner-guests…" The Athenians were being required to open their lives to a level of scrutiny quite foreign to their previous experience, for now such checks on behaviour were being actively policed. Little wonder, then, that Demetrius' great detractor, Duris of Samos, having enumerated the former's profligacies and detailed his intemperate living, should snidely insinuate that Demetrius himself, the regulator of the lives of others, "organised his own life with utter freedom from law." (Demetr. 43A SOD).

2.4 *Demetrius and the* ephêbeia

Given the interest in the *eukosmia* of men and women in Demetrius' reforms, a like concern for the orderliness of youth is inherently plausible; here one might return to the passage of Aristotle's *Politics*

[98] Aristotle also knew of *nomophulakes* performing duties such as those catalogued by Philochorus (e.g. determining matters to come before assemblies and supervising the elections of magistrates): see *Pol.* 1298b30. But his treatment of such *nomophulakes*, whom he regards as aristocratic counterparts of the democratic *boule*, forms part of a separate analysis of probouleutic officials and is thus distinguished from the 'good behaviour' magistrates of prosperous states catalogued at 1322b37.

(1322b37, noted above) in which *nomophulakia* and *gunaikonomia* are joined by *paidonomia* as a priority in well-regulated states. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Demetrius has been credited with some modification of the *ephêbeia*, that programme of military, moral, religious and civic education instituted in the Lycurgan era and undertaken by Athenian youths on the brink of manhood.[99] That Demetrius reinstated this institution after it had been disbanded under the regime of Phocion is a distinct possibility: at any rate, it is clear from an epigraphical attestation of an ephebe in 312/11 (*IG* ii^2 2323a ll.46–47)[100] that the *ephêbeia* was operating in this period. The restitution of the *ephêbeia* of itself confirms a commitment to *paidonomia*.

Some have, however, posited a modification of the original ephebic institution, based on the evidence of the *Axiochus*, a pseudo-Platonic dialogue of indeterminate date.[101] In that work, a catalogue of the troubles of youth concludes with the claim that "every exertion of the young is under the control of the *sôphronistai* and of the Areopagus' selection (*hairesis*) for youth" (*Axiochus* 367a). The *sôphronistai* are ephebic officials well documented in the organization of the *ephêbeia* before Demetrius' regime. Elected by the whole citizen body after nomination by the fathers of the ephebes, they stood *in loco parentis* and were responsible for the overall supervision of the youths in their care; their guidance may have been largely moral, focusing on the inculcation in their charges of *eukosmia* and good judgement (*sophrosunê*).[102] Any involvement of the Areopagus in the running of the *ephêbeia* is, by contrast, not known from any other fourth century evidence about that organization; notably there is no part given to the Areopagus in the outline of the *ephêbeia* in the *Athênaiôn Politeia* (42.2). The evidence

---

[99] So Wallace 1989, 205. As a formalised institution, the *ephêbeia* was probably developed by one Epicrates under the aegis of Lycurgus himself: see Rhodes 1993, 494–95.

[100] Tracy 1995, 40 notes the possible attestation of an ephebic instructor, or *paidotribês*, in another decree, *IG* ii^2 585, which may date to Demetrius' rule. On the suspension of the *ephêbeia* under Phocion, see Mitchel 1964, 346–48.

[101] Estimates of the date of its composition range from the late fourth century (so Taylor 1949, 550–552) to the first century (Souilhé 1919, 135ff), and these parameters have not been narrowed: compare O'Keefe 2006, 389–90.

[102] So Reinmuth 1971, 130–31; Mitchel 1961, 347. The duties of the *sôphronistai* detailed by [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42 are either vague (they "take care of everything else") or prosaic (they oversee the food provisions), but the fact that these officials are elected (rather than chosen by lot), in an election in which parents and the *dêmos* had a say, betrays the importance of their role.

of the *Axiochus* has been taken to mean that the Areopagus assumed control of the appointment of the *sôphronistai*, and it is this that has been attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum's intervention; the reform cannot have lasted long, since the *sôphronistai* were again being elected by the fathers and the *dêmos* certainly as early as 303/2 and perhaps even before.[103]

The regulation of the *ephêbeia* officials is yet another matter in which the evidence is unsatisfactory and inconclusive, but the balance of the available indications in fact inclines against any Demetrian connection here. The sole reason for suspecting any late-fourth century context for the reference to the Areopagus is the identification of the Cynic philosopher, Crates, as the ultimate source of the account. Crates was a visitor to Athens during Demetrius' period in power (Diog. Laert. 6.90; Athen. 422c = Demetr. 33A&B SOD); so, the argument goes, any description by him of Athenian institutions may well reflect practices under Demetrius. But the connection between Crates and the *Axiochus* is, to say the least, tenuous indeed. It rests upon the marked similarity between the relevant passage in the *Axiochus* (366d–367b containing the allusion to the Areopagites at 367a), and a passage in a another work, this time by Stobaeus (4.34.72), in which Stobaeus paraphrases at second hand (via the mid-third century philosopher and writer, Teles)[104] the writing of Crates. Even if the close parallels of wording and of subject matter do mean that the writer of the *Axiochus* was, like Stobaeus, drawing ultimately on Crates, it remains far from established that the particular line in the *Axiochus* on the *sôphronistai* and the Areopagus came from that source. The version of Crates' account that has been preserved by Stobaeus contains no counterpart for the relevant line of the *Axiochus*—Teles makes no mention of *sôphronistai* nor of the Areopagus' role—and if the *Axiochus* is a later work than Teles' excerpt of Crates, the claim about the *sôphronistai* and the Areopagus may rather be an interpolation into Crates' account, reflecting the ephebic institution contemporary with the composition of the *Axiochus*, and thus well after Demetrius' rule.[105]

---

[103] *IG* ii^2 1159 of 303/2 (= Reinmuth 1971, no. 19).

[104] On Teles and his *floruit*, Wilmowitz-Moellendorf 1965, 292–309.

[105] On the date of the *Axiochus*, above, 87 n. 101. Ferguson 1911a, 129 n. 1 maintains instead that Teles failed to preserve this information in his paraphrase of Crates, and that the writer of the *Axiochus* has more fully transmitted the Cynic's writing. But while it may well be the case that Teles' failure to mention any *sôphronistai* may stem from the suspension of that institution at the time of his writing in the mid-third cen-

A later context for the '*sôphronistai* and the Areopagus' *hairesis* for youth' is supported by a further linguistic and historical consideration. In his detailed study of the Areopagus, Keil argued that *hairesis* developed a special sense of a 'commission' in the first century AD, and was used especially of panels composed of Areopagites (he compared with the *Axiochus* a first-century decree that provides for the establishment of a similar Areopagite panel or *hairesis*).[106] A survey of the late Athenian constitution shows that there seems to have been a proliferation of such Areopagite supervisory boards in that period.[107] The *Axiochus* might then attest not to the election of *sôphronistai* by the Areopagus, but to the existence of an Areopagite panel 'for youth' akin to the other Areopagite boards manifest in the late second or first century. Keil, moreover, found corroboration for a first-century Areopagite panel 'for youth' in Plutarch's *Cicero* 24.7, in which Cicero applies to the Areopagus to retain for Athens the services of Cratippus the Peripatetic, so that young men such as Cicero's son might be lectured by this esteemed philosopher.[108]

The *Axiochus* might not, then, have much to reveal to us about any specific revision of the *ephêbeia* by Demetrius of Phalerum. On the present state of the evidence, we cannot know in what form the institution existed during his rule. He may well have maintained it in the form originally given it under Lycurgus' aegis; certainly, the significant changes that were soon to alter the very nature of the *ephêbeia*—notably the reduction of the period of service from two years to one, and the change from compulsory to voluntary enlistment for the Athenian youth—seem to post-date Demetrius, and belong rather to the period of Athens' subordination to Demetrius Poliorcetes.[109]

---

tury (so Habicht 1992, 47–49, citing other evidence that *sôphronistai* were temporarily abolished at this time), it does not follow that Teles was actually omitting information that had been included in Crates' original. It is just as possible that the writer of the (later?) *Axiochus* was adding material pertinent to his own experience, for the *sôphronistai* were re-established, appearing on an inscription of 139/40 (*IG* ii^2 2044).

[106] Keil 1920, 25–26 on *hairesis*.

[107] Geagan 1967, 50–51.

[108] Keil 1920, 75–76.

[109] See *IG* ii^2 556 (ca. 305/4) with Pélékidis 1962, 164 on the duration of service. On the move to voluntary enlistment, see Gauthier 1985, 161 n. 46 and Habicht 1992, 47–8.

2.5 *The laws: an interpretation and discussion of the historical context*

The reforms enacted by Demetrius, and the magistracies he created to enforce them, present a coherent programme in which moral and religious propriety were enshrined in law. But was Demetrius pursuing an agenda dictated to him by his Macedonian overlord, or was there a larger vision to which he ascribed? It is difficult to believe that the impetus for a programme of this nature came from Cassander; the reforms were ones intimately focused on conduct within the state—more pointedly still, on the private behaviour of individual citizens—and these can have had no immediate impact on the relations of the state to the Macedonian hegemon. This was no reshaping of the Athenian state to accommodate the imperatives of the foreign victor. On the contrary, to the extent that there is any connection between the reforms and Macedonian power, the effect seems to have been a distancing one. Demetrius' restriction of burial monuments served to divorce Athenian practice from the heroizing trends attested among the Macedonian court and some of its Athenian associates (and regarding these 'associates', if we may designate them thus, it is worth noting the suggestion that Aristonautes, whose heroising grave monument is mentioned above, had served on campaign with Alexander).[110] Care must be taken not to overstate the ramifications of this for Athens' relations with Cassander himself: by the end of Alexander the Great's life, a deep rift had opened up between that monarch and the household of Cassander (a rift that was to have bloody consequences in the two decades after Alexander's death), and Alexander's infringements of religious propriety were not welcomed by all Macedonians, let alone the Athenians. Nonetheless, Demetrius' burial laws will have prevented not just the assumption of heroic motifs, but even the adoption by Athenian citizens of less extreme symbols associating them with the Macedonian élite. Phocion's son, it seems, may have advertised his father's close relationship with Macedon on his tomb, if the relief sculpture of a riderless horse with groom does in fact belong to Phocion's monument as Palagia has so enticingly suggested.[111] Phocion might then have his Macedonian ties (enjoyed chiefly with Alexander

[110] Ridgway 1992.
[111] Palagia 2003.

and with Cassander's father, Antipater) celebrated for posterity; no Athenian from the regime of Demetrius of Phalerum would be free to do likewise.

There is a second aspect in which Demetrius' reforms might not have suited the inclinations of the Macedonians, and this is his reinstatement of the ephebic programme. Tracy has recently highlighted the potential significance of this move, which gave the Athenians at least some military standing of their own and made them a potential threat to the Macedonian force occupying Munychia.[112] It might be objected, of course, that the training of Athens' youth provided Cassander with a pool of extra manpower on which he might call *in extremis*, and was, to that extent, possibly in his interests. The historical record suggests otherwise. While Cassander did call upon assistance from the Athenian fleet, it was only in very special circumstances when the mobilisation could be justified in terms of Athens' own domestic advantage (at Lemnos: see below, 259 and 280); he never, to our knowledge, sought to access Athenian troops. It should be remembered, too, the *ephêbeia* had been disbanded under the aegis of Cassander's father, Antipater, who was apparently worried by the threat it posed. When Demetrius' resumed the programme, it can scarcely have been at Cassander's behest.

Other political agendas may, of course, be imputed to elements of Demetrius' programme. In the restriction of luxury and display in his banquet and burial laws, it is possible to see an attempt to reduce the scope for competition among the Athenian social and financial élite, thereby reducing the avenues for self-promotion available to potential political rivals. Earlier attempts in Athens to limit funerary excesses have certainly been viewed in this light; thus the disappearance in the early fifth century of the impressive archaic grave markers and Demetrius of Phalerum's frustratingly vague testimony to a law 'somewhat later' than Solon limiting tomb construction (see Cicero *De Legibus* 2.64 = Demetr. 53 SOD) are often jointly associated with the democratisation of Athens under Cleisthenes or Themistocles.[113] The

[112] Tracy 2000, 339–40; for the ideological impact, cf. Tracy 2004 on the hellenistic *ephêbeia* and Athenian national identity.

[113] Eckstein 1958; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 89–90; Clairmont 1970, 11 posits a sharing of responsibility between Cleisthenes and Themistocles. A purely 'democratic' explanation is problematised by Morris 1992, 128ff esp. 145ff, who puts the modesty of fifth-century Athenian grave monuments within the context of a broader Hellenic trend.

limitation of gatherings at feasts, moreover, may have served to reduce the opportunities for political intrigue and for the exercise of political patronage;[114] for the possibility of the former, one need think only of the oligarchic attempts to mobilise the shadowy Athenian *hetaireioi* in the late fifth century (see esp. Thuc. 8.54), and for the latter, of the advantage Cimon derived from feeding large numbers of Athenians on the produce of his vast estates (Athen. 532f-533c, Plut. *Cim.* 10–12, [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 27.3). While Demetrius' restrictions may have helped to neutralise potential political rivals, however, it is far from clear that these were the main aims of his legislation. Demetrius' position was backed by an external power, and he was not ultimately reliant on Athenian support or acquiesence in his rule (a fact brought out most clearly when Cassander's military hold on Athens was threatened: see below, 268ff).

If the explanation for the reform programme does not come from the imperatives of the Macedonian hegemon, and if the aim of the moral and sumptuary laws was not primarily economic, then an explanation must be sought within the interests of Athens itself. A closer scrutiny of the contextual historical values urges the view that Demetrius' concern for the conduct of his citizens had a distinctly political purpose. That the well-being of the state is closely dependent on the orderliness and moral probity of the individual citizens is a notion that finds repeated expression in writers of the fourth century.[115] Aeschines, for example, explains Solon's inclusion, among those debarred from public life, of those who offended against mere slaves on the grounds that, in a democracy, anyone who commits an outrage against another becomes unfit for citizenship (1.17). A similar rationalisation is offered at 1.22 for the Solonian regulations of assembly behaviour, which Aeschines describes as laws concerning orderliness (*peri eukosmias*), and morality (*sophrosunê*): Solon is credited with believing that the state is best administered where orderly conduct (*eukosmia*) is most common. This understanding of Solon's purpose is encapsulated at 1.30, where it is claimed (following a discussion of laws on prostitution and squanderers) that only those virtuous in their private lives can make good and useful citizens of the *polis*.

[114] For the workings of patronage in classical Athens, see Millett 1989.

[115] Romilly 1971, 227ff discusses the educational, moral functions with which law was associated in Greek thought, and the further connections perceived between the form of a constitution and the behaviour of the citizens.

Luxury, too, must be prevented by the conscientious legislator, for luxury could corrupt. This idea was not, of course, new to the fourth century: in his closing anecdote (9.122), Herodotus relates that Cyrus refused the Persians' request to move into Media on the grounds that soft countries breed soft men, and the author approves this decision to be masters living upon barren mountains rather than slaves dwelling in fertile valleys. But it is in the literature of the fourth century that a nexus between private morality and the stability of cities comes particularly to the fore. It is present in Theopompus' story (*FGrHist.* 115 F134) that Dionysius I of Syracuse encouraged luxuriousness among his subjects in order to make them politically useless, thereby concentrating power in his own hands. Theopompus evidently saw luxury and moral incontinence as an underlying cause of political instability (and in this he may have been followed by Demetrius of Phalerum's contemporaries, Timaeus and Duris);[116] thus he attributes to the luxurious habits of the citizens of Colophon (with their lifestyle of sumptuous and drunken banquets, purple cloaks and expensive perfumes) their political turmoil and descent into tyranny (*FGrHist.* 115 F117). A connection between the dissolute lives of inhabitants and the destruction of their city is a recurrent motif in Athenaeus' collection of anecdotes about luxurious cities. From him we learn that Polybius drew a connection between the disaster suffered by the Capuans and their extravagance; that Agatharchides attributed the Zacynthians' martial ineptitude to their opulent lifestyle (528a–b); that the decline of the Milesians resulted from their adoption of luxurious ways (523f). In yet other anecdotes, an excess of luxury is said to have prompted divine vengeance, and the outrages of the Tarentines and the Iapygians provoke the wrath of the gods (522d–523b).

The orderliness and decorum of the citizens thus became the legitimate concern for the legislator who wanted to ensure the stability and vigour of his state. Instructive in this context are two rather similar claims made by later sources about Demetrius' impact as a ruler, claims that may come originally from Demetrius himself. Strabo (9.1.20 = Demetr. 19 SOD) asserts that not only did Demetrius not destroy the Athenian democracy, but he actually strengthened (*epênôrthôse*) it; Cicero (*De Rep.* 2.1.2 = Demetr. 56 SOD), that Demetrius "revived" (*sustentasset*) the state when it was "already bloodless and prostrate"

[116] See Flower 1994, 69ff on Theopompus; 166 for Timaeus and Duris.

(*exsanguem iam et iacentem*). This metaphorical language of physical vigour finds a counterpart in that used in the context of funerary laws by Plutarch, in that passage of the *Solon* (21.4) already noted above which may itself be derived from Demetrius: Solon's laws are there stated to curtail grief that is weak (*anandra*) and unmanly (*gunaikôde*). These judgements accord well with the moral purpose of Demetrius' laws, for by regulating the private lives of his citizens he could indeed claim, according to fourth-century thinking, to be strengthening the state, and to be reinvigorating a state made prostrate by moral decline.[117]

As a legislative programme, Demetrius' reforms were not unprecedented. In fact his laws, with their restrictions on individual behaviour, display a marked resemblance to the codes attributed to the early and archaic lawgivers. Restrictions on burial practice, for example, were allegedly enacted by Charondas, Pittacus, Zaleucus, Lycurgus, Solon and Diocles.[118] Laws regulating the behaviour of women feature prominently too in the laws of the ancient *nomothetai*. The early Syracusans were subject to provisions policed by *gunaikonomoi* which stipulated the proper times at which a woman might leave her home and the company she might take, as well as regulating dress for both men and women.[119] These Syracusan laws were probably enacted by the archaic legislator, Diocles.[120] Zaleucus (Diod. 12.20) is credited with reforms very similar to those in Syracuse, while Aristides of Ceos (Arist. F611, 28 Rose) had provisions governing the behaviour of women and boys, as well as mourning practice. Among other reforms of this early period which may be categorised with the moral provisions are Charondas'

---

[117] One might wonder too whether there is, in Demetrius' claim to have 'strengthened' the state, a conscious echo of Isocrates' terminology in the *Areopagitikos*. At 7.15, Isocrates laments the corrupted state of the Athenian *politeia*, and complains of the lack of consideration given to the strengthening or redemption of it. Throughout the passage, Isocrates likens the constitution to the soul or mind; the state itself is the body, which is weakened by deficiencies in the constitution. Demetrius did not effect a strengthening or the state by reinvigorating the Areopagus, as Isocrates had urged (for Demetrius, the Areopagus and *nomophulakia*, see below 147ff); through his laws he did, however, address the perceived moral decline in the citizens, a decline for which Isocrates blamed in part the reduced supervision of the Areopagus.

[118] See above, 55ff.

[119] Gehrke 1978, 168 suggests that banqueting laws may also have existed at Syracuse and been enforced by *gunaikonomoi*.

[120] On the Syracusan laws, Phylarch. *FGrHist.* 81 F45.

law against association with unsuitable companions (*peri tês kakomilias*), and Pittacus' attempt to discourage drunkenness by making higher penalties for crimes committed while drunk (Charondas: Diod. 12.12.2; Pittacus: Arist. *Pol.* 1274b19). Meanwhile, in Corinth, Periander introduced laws against idleness, luxurious banqueting and against prostitution (so Diog. Laert. 1.98; Nic. Dam. *FGrHist.* 90 F58).[121]

Demetrius perhaps looked consciously to these putative archaic lawgivers and their codes as models for his own programme. Two main items can be advanced in support of this claim. One is the obvious interest that Demetrius had in these precursors and in their moral precepts. Among his extensive scholarly output was a collection of *Sayings of the Seven Wise Men* (Stobaeus *Anthology* 3.1.172 = Demetr. 87 SOD); this work, purporting to draw together apophthegms from many of the greatest lawgivers (Solon, Thales, Pittacus and Periander among them), contains many a moral platitude echoing the tone of the legislation of these figures. Thus Demetrius' Solon advises "When you have learned to let yourself be governed, then you will know how to govern others"; "have no dealings with bad persons"; "consult the gods." From Thales: "idleness is annoying"; "lack of restraint is harmful"; "use moderation." And from Pittacus: "acquire things which last forever: care, piety, education, temperance, practical wisdom, truthfulness, worthiness, experience, tact, comradeship, diligence, frugality, skill." Significantly, Demetrius himself coined and published apophthegms of his own (see Demetr. 70–79 SOD), thereby modelling himself on his archaic predecessors. "It is fitting for those of the young who are well-bred, when at home to respect their parents, on journeys those they meet, and in solitary places themselves", so Demetrius urges; or again, "one should not inquire whether people are from a great city but whether they are worthy of a great city"; and the finest of living things he defines as "a human being adorned with breeding (*paideia*)."

The second, and more telling consideration for Demetrius' real motives concerns his official designation. These semi-mythical lawgivers of the past are characteristically styled *nomothetai* in the sources,[122] and a desire to signal the continuity of his programme

[121] Athen. 443a compares the laws of Periander to those of Cleomis, who according to Theopompus (*FGrHist.* 115 F227) enacted such measures.

[122] As *nomothetai*, for Charondas, see Diod. 12.11.3; Zaleucus, Diod.12.20.1; Diocles, Diod. 13.33. On Solon, see 96 n. 124 below.

with this tradition of archaic legislation may indeed have prompted Demetrius to style himself as *nomothetês* in his law-giving capacity. It is a title applied to him by Syncellus (*Chronological Abstract* p. 521 Dind. = Demetr. 20B SOD), who describes him as the third lawgiver (*nomothetês*) of Athens. It is a title punned upon in Duris' invective against Demetrius, when he complains that Demetrius himself lived a lawless life (*anomothetêtos*: Demetr. 43A). Importantly, Demetrius may even have used it of himself, since Plutarch calls Demetrius the lawgiver when quoting from Demetrius' own work *Socrates*.[123]

Nomothetês could well have been Demetrius' constitutional position, even though the term is also found applied as a general, non-official designation.[124] It is most likely the term to be restored to a lacuna in *IG* ii^2 1201 (= Demetr. 16B SOD). At line 10ff of this decree moved by the Athenian deme, Aixone, in honour of Demetrius of Phalerum, comes a record of his legislative activity:

> Having been elected…by the people of the Athenians, he made laws which are fine and beneficial to the city.

The other commonly suggested restorations for this most annoyingly placed of lacunae—general (*stratêgos*), or overseer (*epimelêtês*)—are unconvincing.[125] Used of Demetrius by Diodorus (18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD), *epimelêtês* is an essentially non-technical term widely adopted in the Diadochan period for those installed in power in their home states at the behest of Macedonian overlords; these *epimelêtai* would see to it that the state provided any necessary military support desired by the hegemon, and that the state retained its allegiance.[126]

---

[123] Plut. *Arist.* 27.3 = Demetr. 104 SOD. Plutarch may have known Demetrius' work only via Panaetius (see Grilli 1957, 67–75) but he may yet preserve Demetrius' wording. Could the discussion of Demetrius by Hermippus (quoted by Diog. Laert. 5.78 = Demetr. 1 SOD)) have come from his *Peri Nomothetôn*? (For the title, Athen. 619b.)

[124] In a non-official sense of individual lawgivers, see Lysias 30.28 (on Pericles); Aeschines and Aristotle (F611, 3 Rose) use it of Solon, even though Solon may have enacted his laws while technically an archon ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 5.2 for the archonship, with Wallace 1983 on the timing of Solon's legislative activity). On the use of the label *nomothetês* in the fourth century to describe lawgivers of the past, see Thomas 1994, esp. 121–27.

[125] For *nomothetês*, see first Dow & Travis 1943, 153, although they argue for *nomothetês* on the basis of its use by Plato rather than on the resonance with the ancient lawgivers maintained here.

[126] Hieronymus of Cardia, Diodorus' chief source for his material on Diadochan affairs, seems to have used the term *epimelêtês* extensively and diversely, and was himself one under Antigonus Monophthalmus. Hornblower 1981, 13 understands the

Diodorus' description of Demetrius as *epimelêtês* denotes his responsibility to Cassander rather than an office to which he could be elected by the Athenian people;[127] it encapsulates Demetrius' championing of Cassander's military and strategic interests in the formulation of Athenian foreign policy.[128] (The obvious parallel and precedent in Athens is with Phocion, styled *epimelêtês* in his relationship with Antipater: above, 30). It is scarcely a position from which Demetrius, a scholar of Athenian constitutionalism, could legislate, and the same could be said of the office of *stratêgos*. In fact, Demetrius is not otherwise attested as a general, if one follows Tracy in doubting the testimony of Polyaenus (4.7.6 = Demetr. 28 SOD) who has Demetrius as a general defending the Piraeus against Demetrius Poliorcetes in 307: Diodorus' account of the same incident (20.45.2 = Demetr. 30 SOD) has Poliorcetes opposed by the generals in the company of Demetrius, and Polyaenus has probably made a mistake "based", as Tracy writes, "on inference from the situation rather than from any solid evidence."[129] Moreover, when Polybius (10.24.7 = Demetr. 90 SOD) describes some of Demetrius' writing on tactics as illustrating a military principle only "as far as theory goes" (or, more specifically, "if not by practical experience": *heôs logou*), he seems to imply that Demetrius' understanding of matters military was based solely on scholarship, not real experience; a theoretical rather than practical basis is further suggested by the apparently Socratic origin of the tactical excerpt from Demetrius.[130]

term as a fundamentally military one, but others (Hammond & Walbank 1988, 154) argue rather for some administrative function.

[127] Diodorus does record Demetrius' appointment as *epimelêtês* in language similar to that used in the Axione inscription: Cassander instructs the Athenians to appoint an *epimelêtês* approved by Cassander himself, and "Demetrius was chosen" (*hêirethê*). The appointment mentioned by Diodorus need not, however, be the one documented in the deme decree, which states that Demetrius passed his laws "having been elected (*hairetheis*) *by the people*." Against any equation of these two 'elections', see Gehrke 1978, 173–75.

[128] For Demetrius acting as the agent to ensure Athenian support of Cassander, see the discussion of the Athenian mobilisation at Lemnos, or again of the negotiations sparked by an invasion of Attica by Antigonus Monophthalmus: below, 259ff.

[129] Tracy 1995, 45 n. 53. For the redating of *IG* ii^2 2971, once thought to document multiple generalships of our Demetrius of Phalerum, see Tracy 1994, 151–61, and 1995, 43–45. Polyaenus, the sole source to label Demetrius explicitly as a general, may class him thus a second time at *Strat.* 3.15 (= Demetr. 45 SOD, where Demetrius' stratagem for escaping from Thrace is recounted).

[130] See Walbank 1967, 229 for interpretation of this passage, which both Wehrli (F123) and Jacoby (*FGrHist.* 228 F27) assign to Demetrius' *Stratêgika*. The similar Socratic material is at Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.7.

The assumption of the title *nomothetês*, then, may have been a conscious move by Demetrius to establish and to locate himself within the tradition of the ancient lawgivers with their concern for the strengthening of the state through the regulation of private lives. This does not mean, however, that his reforms were simply 'reactionary'. While the precursors for his reforms were located in a much earlier, almost mythical, past, the interest in moral laws was a contemporary one. The very tradition on the early *nomothetai* and their laws, a tradition often based on fabrication,[131] seems to belong largely to the fourth century. (One key figure in the development of the material on the lawgivers is Ephorus, whose material may have been used later by the Peripatetic school.)[132] The emergence at this time of discussion of the early legislators may be a result of the development of a historiographical tradition, in which writers were first attempting to record the development of laws and constitutions in general, but it may yet clearly reflect concerns current in the fourth century. If many of the luxury laws of the seventh and sixth centuries had little foundation in fact (and this is hard to assess: some burial laws seem to be genuinely old,[133] but other measures, such as Charondas' law against unsuitable companions, are more problematic), their fabrication by fourth-century sources might in fact reveal something about prevailing contemporary attitudes. Writers of this period (and into the early third century) at any rate seem to have taken a keen interest in the kinds of excesses which sumptuary legislation was designed to curb. Anecdotes about luxurious and unrestrained living are prolific in the remaining fragments of the writings of Theopompus and of Duris of Samos, while Duris' brother, Lynceus, devoted much of his attention to tales of extravagant banqueting.[134]

---

[131] See, for example, Szegedy-Maszak 1978, with instances of allegedly archaic laws which bear the stamp of fourth century (also van Compernolle 1981 on Zaleucus' laws for the Locrians). This is not to say that archaic provisions could not survive, sometimes modified or amalgamated into subsequent codes. Hermippus (Wehrli F88) gives a *modus* for their preservation.

[132] The information in Diodorus about Charondas, Zaleucus and Diocles of Syracuse is believed to be from Ephorus; he has been suggested also as the source of the tradition on the tyrant Periander, which was recorded by Hermippus (F13 Wehrli) and Heraclides (Arist. F611, 20 Rose): see Wehrli's commentary on Hermippus F13. See now also Whitehead 2005.

[133] Funerary provisions of the type ascribed to the ancient legislators are attested epigraphically in the fifth century (in Iulis, *SIG*^{3} 1218), and may have been in existence even before that.

[134] See Kebric 1977, 20ff; Dalby 2000. However the *caveat* of Billows 1990, 333–36

The interest of Demetrius' contemporaries went well beyond a mere literary concern for sumptuary law. Throughout the Greek world, this period witnessed a widespread promulgation of such laws and imposition of policing officials. In Methymna in the mid-fourth century, the tyrant Cleomis put an end to the luxurious banquets common among his subjects and passed measures against procuresses and prostitutes (Theop. *FGrHist.* 115 F227).[135] *Gunaikonomoi* are attested in Thasos in the fourth century (Pouilloux, *Recherches* nos. 141 and 154), where they enforced funeral laws and perhaps, in a manner reminiscent of their Athenian counterparts and the *thusiai*, had some rôle in sacred feasts. Similar officials were (quite possibly) on Samos in the mid-fourth century, and appear in many other centres in the third and second centuries.[136] Cicero (*De Rep.* 4.6) implies of the *gunaikonomoi* (whom he labels *praefecti mulieribus*) that these officials were commonplace in the Greek world, as does the rhetorician Menander in the third or fourth century AD.[137]

When Demetrius introduced his reforms, he was acting then in a fashion consistent with patterns that had emerged already in the fourth century and that were to become yet more common into the Hellenistic period. Still more importantly, Demetrius' programme can be viewed as the development of trends established already in Athens itself, for his policies find a counterpart in those of the democratic hero, Lycurgus. Aspects of this continuity between the Phalerean period and the Lycurgan democracy have been touched on above, but one might

---

must be borne in mind, that any such apparent emphasis in Duris' work may be due more to the interests of Athenaeus, by whom much of Duris is preserved, than to a predominance of such material in Duris' original writings; the same caution could be extended to Lynceus, for whose work Athenaeus is again a key excerptor (as, for example, at Athen. 101e–f, 128a–b).

[135] The date depends on his identification with the individual honoured by Athens ca. 345 (*IG* ii^2 284) and mentioned in the seventh letter of Isocrates.

[136] At Samos, *I.G.* xii.6.1.461 l.3, of the fourth century. Other *gunaikonomoi* are in Gambreium in the third century, enforcing funerary laws (*SIG*^{3} 1219); in Egypt in the third, involved in the registration of new citizens (Turner 1955 no. 196); in Magnesia in the second, involved in rites for Zeus (*SIG*^{3} 589); in Andania in the first, involved in the Mysteries, ensuring that women are suitably attired and that the procession is conducted in an appropriate fashion (*SIG*^{3} 736). The same officials may have policed burial laws in Boeotia, if Plutarch is referring to his native Chaeronea at *Sol.* 21.7 (but see above, 49). *Gunaikonomoi* appear in undated inscriptions from Miletus (*CIG* II 2881) and Colophon (*BCH* 47 (1923) p. 376 no. 3, where the title of the office is partly restored).

[137] Menander, *Peri Epideiktikôn* treatise 1; the general context is the ensuring of temperance in public life (an area including education of children and marriage and regulations against offences against good order (*epi tois hamartêmasin tois akosmois*)).

reiterate here the existence of laws in the Lycurgan period governing the behaviour of women (see above, 71). The very existence of these earlier laws—Lycurgus' prohibition on the use of a carriage for the procession to Eleusis, and the Philippidean measure against disorderly behaviour by women in public—indeed raises the possibility that the *gunaikonomoi* themselves were a product of the Lycurgan era rather than of Demetrius.[138] The creation of such specialised officials is not a necessary corollary of these laws,[139] but if the *gunaikonomoi* were already in existence at this time, then the continuities between Demetrius' regime and his democratic predecessor would become more pointed still. The same may be said of the *nomophulakes*, whose prior existence under Lycurgus cannot be definitively disproven,[140] and there are indeed traces of a resurgence during the Lycurgan period of the kind of *nomophulakia* that, I have argued, is at the very foundation of Demetrius' *nomophulakes*. In [Plutarch's] life of Lycurgus (*Mor.* 841e) we learn that Lycurgus became the guardian of the city (*tou asteos tên phulakên*), a task that saw him ridding the city of its undesirable elements (the *kakourgoi*); the comment applies no doubt to Lycurgus' rather enthusiastic activity as a prosecutor, which saw him bringing many charges, some on religious grounds, others against adulterers and cowards (so [Plut.] *Mor.* 843d–e). The fourth-century Areopagus also seems to have been pursuing an interest in such *nomophulakia*, if we grant any credence to the story (Athen. 168a) that it conducted an investigation into the livelihood of the philosophers, Menedemus and Asclepiades, when they were young (*neous ontas*). (It is a story which is coupled with the reports of the Atthidographers Phanodemus and Philochorus, treated above 81, that the early Areopagus used to scrutinise the livelihoods of individuals, and may be thus taken as an instance

[138] The monitoring of women during religious processions, as features in Lycurgus' law, was enforced by *gunaikonomoi* at Andania, where regulations governed women's dress and behaviour: *IG* v.1.1219 = *SIG*^{3} 736 ll.26, 32.

[139] Philippides' law was concerned specifically with the behaviour of women in public (*kata tas hodous*), and as such it is conceivable that it might initially have been regulated by the *astunomoi* who were responsible, in general terms, for orderliness on the streets; the relationship between *astunomoi* and *gunaikonomoi* is explored further below, 312ff. Lycurgus' law could have been enforced by the *epimelêtai* for the Mysteries who were, by the 340s, were charged with enforcing *eukosmia* in the procession thus *Agora* XVI 56A ll.32ff where the *epimelêtai* are charged with fining the disorderly (*akosmountas*).

[140] Above, 72–75.

of the Areopagus applying the 'idleness law', or *nomos argias*).[141] It is impossible to fix with absolute certainty the temporal context, but the investigation of Menedemus is best located well before Demetrius' regime, as Menedemus died at the age of seventy-four soon after 278 (Diog. Laert. 2.141, 144); his youth would thus predate 317, and his presence in Athens is indeed attested in the mid-fourth century, since his philosophical training began under Plato (Diog. Laert. 2.125).[142] Even if the particular cases of Menedemus and Asclepiades are historically questionable, the anecdotes might still reflect a real concern for the regulation of individual behaviour on the part of the fourth-century Areopagus. A further point of correspondence between the Lycurgan and Phalerean periods can be isolated in the formalisation in the former era of the ephebic training of Athenian youth, a process suggestive of increased interest in cultivating orderly behaviour (on which see 15, 87 n. 99); it was certainly at this time that the *sôphronistês*, whose duties included the moral guidance of the young men, was first introduced. On a more general level, the emphasis on good order, or *eutaxia*, in inscriptions of the Lycurgan period is reflective of the spirit of the age.[143]

Demetrius' reforms may be evaluated more realistically against this framework of emerging public concern for private morality and behaviour evident throughout the Hellenistic world, and more particularly within Athens itself. Responding to trends already apparent earlier in the fourth century, Demetrius can be seen to advance much further that movement towards public scrutiny of private concerns that flourished throughout the Greek world in the third century and beyond. He appears very much both a man of his time, and a man standing on the threshold of the Hellenistic age. Where his programme does depart from its *Athenian* forerunners is not so much in the substance of the laws enacted, but in the creation of new magistrates to enforce them. The presence of *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* gave the legislation a distinctly tangible presence, and we can well imagine the resentment that their intrusion into the private lives of the citizens

---

[141] On the continued existence of the *nomos argias* in the fourth century, see Lysias (ap. *Lex. Cantab. s.vv. argias dikê*) and Dem. 57.32.

[142] Jacoby's inclination, in his commentary on *FGrHist*. 328 F196, to date the investigations to Demetrius' decade in power, is based on a misconception about the prominence of the Areopagus in that period (on which, see below, 147ff).

[143] See, for example, *IG* vii.4254; *IG* ii^2 417.

caused; this much is already obvious from the remarks of Demetrius' contemporaries noted above (86). The silence of the record about *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* after Demetrius' expulsion in 307 makes it likely that both offices were soon disbanded; they were, perhaps, too much tainted by association with the regime that had created them. But we must distinguish here between the officials and the laws they policed: the story was rather different for the latter. As noted above (51), the restriction on funerary monuments was clearly not repealed in 307. This is often treated as the exception to the rule that Demetrius' acts were all rescinded, but this is not necessarily the case. The law on banquets may similarly have survived; its existence or otherwise is simply not demonstrable archaeologically in the way that the burial law is.

This background of morality concerns within the Athenian context shows that the reforms are not necessarily in tension with democratic ideology and practice. Laws that curbed the excesses of individuals could often promote harmony within a democratic state by reducing the scope for aristocratic display; Plutarch implies that this was one of the motivations behind early Athenian burial laws, when he notes that Solon's burial legislation was preceded by intense feuding between the families of Megacles and Cylon (Plut. *Sol.* 12).[144] True, legislation governing private behaviour was hardly in the spirit of Athenian individual freedom so lauded by Thucydides' Pericles—it is indeed more consistent with the kind of supervision implicitly ascribed to Athens' nemesis, Sparta—but the fourth century had witnessed a shift. It is significant that so much of the concern for orderliness, or *eukosmia*, traced above is associated with the figure of Lycurgus. Although himself an aristocrat, Lycurgus came to be regarded as an embodiment of the Athenian democratic state; he was used thus particularly by those opponents of Demetrius of Phalerum who came to power after 307 (see further, 296ff). Some of his legislative activity was given an overtly democratic justification: his prohibition of the use of carriages for the journey to Eleusis is explained by [Plutarch] (*Mor.* 842a–b) as a measure to reduce friction between the wealthy and the poor. Demetrius' legislation will have had a similar effect. So while Demetrius' critics could rail against his alleged profligacy, which so contravened the spirit and letter of his own reforms, it was certainly not on the basis

[144] Cf. above, 50 on the Solonian provisions.

of his reforms that his regime could be attacked as oligarchic, or as overthrowing the democracy. Again we come to Demetrius' own claim that his governance had served to strengthen and better democracy, not to undermine it. It is to the functioning of that democracy that we must now turn.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Demetrius' contemporaries were clear in their assessment of his regime and of his place within it. When Poliorcetes ousted Cassander's partisans from Athens in 307, Demetrius of Phalerum and his associates were formally charged with overthrowing the democracy (so Philoch. *FGrHist*. 328 F66 = Demetr. 31 SOD), the very charge levelled over ten years earlier against Phocion and his adherents, and a charge tantamount to oligarchy.[1] Hence the *Suda* reports that Demetrius of Phalerum had "turned the Athenian constitution into an oligarchy" (*s.vv. Dêmêtrios ho Antigonou* = Demetr. 27 SOD), and Strabo (9.1.20 = Demetr. 19 SOD) that Demetrius was sent into exile on account of the hatred felt for his oligarchy. Late sources place particular emphasis on the prestige vested in Demetrius himself at the head of this oligarchy. In a conscious echo of Thucydides' appraisal of Periclean Athens (discussed in detail below), Plutarch (*Demetr*. 10.2) describes the regime as "in theory an oligarchy, but in practice a monarchy." For Pausanias, too, Demetrius was a tyrant (1.25.6 = Demetr. 17 SOD). The characterisation of the 317–307 government as an oligarchy (or perhaps an oligarchy guided by a tyrant) is thus quite clear, and the only dissenting voice was raised by Demetrius of Phalerum himself, with his objection that he had *not* destroyed democracy, but had indeed strengthened it (Strabo 9.1.20 = Demetr. 19 SOD).[2] His successors certainly did not concur with his view; for them, the government restored by Poliorcetes is repeatedly termed a democracy in emphatic contrast to the ousted Phalerean regime. So it is that Diodorus (20.45.5 = Demetr. 30 SOD) notes that, in 307, the Athenian *dêmos* gained its freedom, and again (20.46.3) that some fifteen years after its overthrow by Antipater, the

---

[1] For Phocion's regime as oligarchic, or overthrowing the people, see *IG* ii^2 448 l.161; [Plut.] *Mor*. 851c; Plut. *Phoc*. 34.3–4; Diod. 18.55.2, 65.6, 66.5.

[2] Strabo's quotation of Demetrius (*ou monon ou kateluse tên dêmokratian alla kai epênôrthôse*) is echoed in Cicero's evaluation of Demetrius at *De Re Pub*. 2.1.2 (= Demetr. 56 SOD), when he claims that Demetrius bolstered (*sustenasset*) the state when it was "bloodless" and "collapsed" (*exsanguem iam et iacentem*). Cicero knew Demetrius' works, and may well be alluding to Demetrius' own testimony here.

dêmos obtained its traditional constitution. Plutarch (*Demetr.* 10.2 = Demetr. 18 SOD) also writes of the democracy being restored by Poliorcetes.

But what was the reality behind these labels? In what sense was Demetrius' regime oligarchic, and just how did the city under Cassander's hegemony perform its necessary functions, such as the administration of justice and the making of decisions on matters of state? The accusation of oligarchy raises the spectre of a widespread curbing of those institutions and practices fundamental to a democratic form of government, a democracy based on the exercise of rights by those who, through their Athenian parentage, qualified as citizens. The freedom to sit in the assembly, and to act as jurors on the various courts (*dikastêria*), were chief among these rights, for the assembly and the courts were the very foundations upon which democratic government was built. Also fundamental to the practice of Athenian democracy was the use of the lot, rather than election, in the selection of most state officials (the election of generals and of major treasurers was a notable exception); the lot was employed also in the empanelling of juries and manning of the council of 500 (the *boulê*) which prepared business for the assembly. Widespread participation in government, made possible by the open assembly and by the use of sortition, was actively encouraged by payment—admittedly meagre—for assembly, council, jury and magisterial service, and this too had become a fundamental part of democratic practice at Athens.

Certain reservations about this form of democracy had long been harboured in some circles within Athens.[3] The inclusion of all free citizens in the running of the state, regardless of an individual's political acumen, was attacked in some quarters (and most notably in the philosophical schools) as distributing "a kind of equality to the equal and the unequal alike" (Plato *Pol.* 558c), rather than allotting to each "what is appropriate to each" (Isoc. 7.21); as a result the institution of the lot, and the payment for jury and assembly service, came in for particular opposition from detractors of this full democracy (see, for example, Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.9; Arist. *Pol.* 1293a). Another criticised feature of democracy was the perceived sovereignty of the assembly which, in the view of Aristotle (*Pol.* 1292a), made that body supreme over the law.

[3] The continuities in the criticisms of Athenian democracy through the fifth and fourth centuries are traced by Ober 1998.

These kinds of attacks have too often formed the basis for our conception of Demetrius' rule.[4] The fact that he was associated with the Peripatos, a philosophical school by which some of these objections to democracy had been voiced, has encouraged the attribution to him of fundamental changes to the democracy. So too has the model established by the 'oligarchy of Phocion' that dominated Athens from 322–318: both epigraphical and anecdotal evidence from that period shows some modification of Athenian institutions. This earlier oligarchy is sketched above (26–32); suffice it to note here the oft-remarked appearance of a new assembly scribe, the *anagrapheus*, who dislodges the archon from his traditional place of pre-eminence on the inscriptions of assembly decrees; there is too the vague but ominous claim that Demades, one of the leading lights of the oligarchy, "destroyed the courts." When Cassander took Athens in 317, the terms he negotiated with that city were very much informed by the example of Antipater's earlier settlement; it is tempting, then, to suppose that the 'oligarchy' installed by Cassander bears a marked resemblance to its predecessor.

Discussions of Demetrius' government have thus tended to isolate a number of measures supposedly designed to curtail democratic practices. The most striking element in this 'oligarchic programme' is the supposed creation of the board of law-guardians, or *nomophulakes* to check the passage of illegal or unsuitable decrees in the assembly. *Nomophulakes* of this kind would indeed have restricted that supremacy of the assembly which Aristotle had found so objectionable; they would also have impinged upon duties exercised by the popular courts, which throughout the fourth century had had the power to assess the legality of assembly enactments by trying cases of illegal proposals (*graphai paranomôn*). This understanding of the competence of the *nomophulakes* has been argued above (72ff) as being flawed, but there are still other ways—most of them predictable responses to the standard oligarchic complaints against democracy—in which Demetrius is thought to have curbed the freedom of Athens' institutions. The suspension of the lot as a means of selecting officials is an obvious example here.

---

[4] Williams 1983a (esp. 174, 197–98) found a close correlation between Demetrius' reforms and the areas of conservative criticism of democracy catalogued by Jones 1957, 41–72. The perceived correlation is unsurprising, given that it is just such lists of oligarchic precepts that have informed the very act of reading the testimonia about Demetrius' regime.

In reality, the evidence for any major reforming of the democracy is lacking. A close consideration of the indications of the workings of the major bodies of the Athenian state—the assembly and the council of the five hundred (*boulê*), the courts, the council of the Areopagus—and of the various fragmentary testimonia concerning Demetrius and the state, reveals no clear signs of any oligarchic revision of these institutions. Beyond the examination of the explicit statements of the sources for the period, a thorough assessment of Demetrius' regime also requires an examination of areas for which there are no direct testimonia, matters which nonetheless have been raised in prior scholarship. The assumption that Demetrius was guided by some form of standard oligarchic agenda has, of itself, encouraged the accreditation to him of reforms for which the documentation is, to say the least, meagre, and it is to the evaluation of these posited reforms that particular care must be given. Some of the following material is thus, of necessity, revisionary and negative, and some of it concerns apparently insignificant aspects of government, but it is hoped that this appraisal of each individual item will cumulatively allow a new appreciation of the regime as a whole and of its supposedly oligarchic character.

In assessing Demetrius' government, we need be mindful, too, of the presence and influence of Cassander. With a Macedonian garrison in Munychia, the Athenians could not afford to neglect the strategic interests of their overlord. Macedonian sovereignty of itself may well have imposed *de facto* constraints on the functioning of the Athenian government, without there being any formal alteration to governmental processes. Care must be taken, then, to distinguish informal pressures from actual constitutional modification; the losses of freedom, which prompted the Athenians in 307 to hail Demetrius Poliorcetes as a liberator and to condemn Demetrius of Phalerum as an oligarch, may be due as much to the former as to the latter.

3.1 *The citizen body*

No matter what the status of Athens' institutions, there is one sense in which the regime of 317–307 could unquestionably be deemed oligarchic, and that is in terms of the citizen body. When Cassander imposed his peace conditions on the city in early 317, full citizen rights became no longer a function simply of Athenian descent, but were restricted to those in possession of one thousand drachmas

(Diod. 18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD). While this created a more extensive citizen body than had existed under the previous Antipatran oligarchy of 322–318, in which a two thousand drachma fortune was required, the new ruling was still an affront to democratic ideals. It was a blow that would have been felt keenly at the individual, as well as communal, level by those disenfranchised once again. Loss of political rights meant the loss of basic privileges enjoyed under full democracy: not only the right to attend the assembly and participate in the offices of government but, even more critically, the right to equality before the law. The loss of *isonomia* which attended a loss of citizenship is highlighted by Xenophon who, writing of an earlier period of restricted citizenship under the thirty tyrants in 404, noted that those stripped of their citizen rights lost the right to a trial and in consequence were liable to summary execution (*Hell.* 2.3.51).

The tantalising possibility of quantifying the actual reduction in citizen numbers in 317 is raised by a fragment preserved by Athenaeus (272c) from the now obscure historian Ctesicles (*FGrHist.* 245 F1 = Demetr. 51 SOD), who purports to record population figures established by a census conducted by Demetrius of Phalerum:

> A census of the inhabitants of Attica (*exetasmos…tôn katoikountôn tên Attikên*) was held in Athens by Demetrius of Phalerum in the…th Olympiad;[5] the number of Athenian citizens was found to be 21 000, of residents aliens 10 000, and of slaves, 400 000.

It is most likely that the census was undertaken as a consequence of the revision of citizenship lists that must have accompanied the imposition of a property qualification. Just such a count apparently accompanied the revision of citizenship lists in the 322 settlement,[6] and Plutarch (*Phoc.* 28.7) and Diodorus (18.18.5) give figures for this earlier oligarchy under Phocion, figures that may provide a framework against

---

[5] The text of the date formula is possibly corrupt: of the two manuscript readings (A and C) of this section of Athenaeus, one is nonsensical (A); the other gives the date as the 113th Olympiad (328–325), a date incompatible with Demetrius of Phalerum. (See, however, below 111 n. 14 for the possibility of accepting this early date). A variety of restorations of the date has been proposed, all influenced by assumptions about the nature and purpose of the count. The possibilities are canvassed in the notes to Demetr. 51 SOD.

[6] Ctesicles' description of the census as an *exetasmos* is consistent with a political, as well as military, purpose (*pace* Hansen 1986, 33); the uses of the term in a military context are collected by Dreizehnter 1972, 149 n. 10, but Plut. *Per.* 37.4 uses the term in the context of scrutiny of citizenship lists.

which the results of Demetrius' census may be used to assess the impact of Cassander's later restrictions. Diodorus states that, under Antipater, some nine thousand retained political rights, but our two sources are at odds over the number of disenfranchised, Diodorus putting the figure at twenty-two thousand, Plutarch at a mere twelve. Both figures have found their champions, and anecdotal reports in the ancient literature that claim a population in the vicinity of the citadel at around twenty thousand have induced many editors to amend Diodorus in favour of Plutarch.[7] Detailed demographic studies examining the population base required to maintain Athens' military and bureaucratic infrastructure have, however, advanced the case for a total Athenian citizen body of thirty-one, not twenty-one, thousand.[8] Assuming this larger figure to be correct, we may put the results of Demetrius' census in context: it established that twenty-one thousand retained their political rights out of a total possible citizen population of around thirty thousand.

Not all, however, have accepted a connection between Demetrius' census and a revision of citizenship lists, preferring instead to understand the count as a military one and thus to interpret the figure of Athenians as the number available for military duties.[9] The inclusions of a metic and more particularly of a slave tally are advanced in support of this military interpretation, since slaves were included in the great military reviews at Megalopolis and Rhodes in this period (so Diod. 18.70.1, 20.84.2–3).[10] This view cannot be dismissed outright, since Ctesicles' fragment as preserved offers little guidance about the context of the count (most notably, the dating formula, which may have helped, is usually deemed corrupt);[11] it is, nonetheless, a less plausible reconstruction of the context of the census. There is no clear occasion for a military review during Demetrius' rule, with

[7] [Dem.] 25.51 alludes to twenty thousand "around the agora" (*kata tên agoran*), and [Plut.] *Mor.* 843d to a public distribution of an estate that yields a similar population total. The lower population figure is thus adopted in the studies of Jones 1957, 76 and Ruschenbusch 1981.

[8] See Rhodes 1980 and Hansen 1986, 65–9, arguing a return to the thirty thousand figure advocated earlier by Gomme 1959; compare now also Moreno 2007, 28–32.

[9] For the former, Mossé 1973, 105; for the latter Beloch 1923, 405. Population registrations could be undertaken for other purposes: Pomeroy 1996 argues that census documents from Ptolemaic Egypt are concerned with taxes.

[10] The inclusion of a metic figure may be problematic for a military understanding of the count, since *metoikoi* ought to apply to all those liable to pay the metic tax, and that included women (so Whitehead 1977, 97).

[11] See above, 109 n. 5, but for a different possibility compare below 111 n. 14.

no full-scale mobilisation on record (for detail, see chapter 6). It is also not certain that the number of 400 000 recorded for the *oiketai* should be understood as a figure for slaves, a group whose inclusion has been central to the military interpretation of the census. Descat suggests that the figure applies rather to household members (thus free women and children as well as slaves), for *oiketai* can have this broader meaning,[12] and his suggestion certainly renders more credible a figure that has generally been thought impossible as a slave count.[13] Any enumeration of the householders of Attica is unlikely to have served a military purpose.

Given the difficulties of a military context for Demetrius' census, it remains preferable to connect his count with the restriction of citizenship in 317 and to assume that the enumeration of Athenian citizens was the primary object of Demetrius' exercise. The impression given by Ctesicles that the formal *exetasmos* included metics and *oiketai* may in fact be misleading; the fragment from Ctesicles betrays hints of compression,[14] and while Demetrius of Phalerum may well have given figures for both of the latter two population groups within (for example) his written account of his ten years in power, he may not have arrived at these figures through his formal *exetasmos*: metics were routinely registered in Athens since they were liable to pay a special

[12] Descat 2004, 368–70.

[13] Athenaeus has taken *oiketai* to mean slaves; he cites Ctesicles' report of Demetrius' census specifically for the slave number, which he compares with the figures for *douloi* given by other authorities for other Greek *poleis*. There are, however, still problems for the 'military interpretation' even if Athenaeus' interpretation of *oiketai* is correct. Those who view the 400 000 as pertaining to slaves find themselves compelled to emend the figure (so Dreizehnter 1972) for it is indeed an unlikely tally to have been recorded in a proper military *exetasmos*. But a slave-figure of this magnitude, so outlandish to us, was apparently credible to the ancients themselves. Athenaeus lists a number of similarly high slave figures for other states; notably, Athenaeus claims to have drawn another of these high figures (470 000 slaves on Aegina) from a constitutional work by Demetrius of Phalerum's Peripatetic companion, Aristotle, and a scholion on Pindar (*Olymp*. 8.30) independently reproduces Aristotle's Aegina figure. Slightly more modest is the 150 000 claimed for Attica in the *Suda s.v. apopsêphiseis* (allegedly quoting Hyperides). As a figure for slaves, Demetrius' 400 000 is quite consistent with what seem to be the ancient guesses of slave numbers, but it is quite incredible as a number actually arrived at by a sober military review.

[14] See further below (112) on the possibly Phalerean provenance of the citizen figures under Phocion's oligarchy. In addition, the preservation in one of the Athenaeus manuscripts of the date of Demetrius' census as 'the 113th Olympiad' (ca. 328–325: above, 109 n. 5) raises the possibility that Demetrius included figures for periods outside his own regime, and that Ctesicles (or Athenaeus) has omitted the material that properly belonged with this date.

metic tax, the *metoikion*, hence their number was available through scrutiny of such routine official records.[15] Demetrius' pride in his successful provisioning of Attica during his decade of rule is well attested (see below, 166; 193–94), and this may have been his motive for hazarding a figure for the household population of Attica; it may also have given him an incentive to inflate this number, as it will have suited his propaganda to exaggerate the population that he had proved capable of feeding.[16]

Ctesicles' report will mean, on this basis, that some 21 000 Athenians retained their citizenship under Cassander's settlement. While this was a significant reduction of the citizen body, it was nowhere near the magnitude of that resulting from Antipater's terms, which saw a mere 9000 enrolled. It is tempting to conjecture that Demetrius himself may have emphasised this expansion of the citizen body in his own writings, and that the figures known to Plutarch and Diodorus on Phocion's oligarchy have come from him.[17] Such a derivation would allow a possible explanation for Plutarch's figure of 12 000, which he erroneously gives to the number of those disenfranchised in 322: this would rather have been the number of those disenfranchised under Antipater who were *re-enfranchised* under Cassander's subsequent settlement (since the citizen list of 317 had some 21 000, against the 9 000 of 322). This is exactly the figure that Demetrius of Phalerum would have been keen to stress; it cast Cassander's settlement, which he had played an integral part in negotiating, in a much more liberal light, and would have been a means to assuage the Athenians' keen resentment of the restriction of their citizenship.

The expansion of citizenship in 317 compared to 322 has significant implications for the political profile of the citizen body. Diodorus had linked the less affluent Athenians with the anti-Macedonian sentiment which fuelled the Lamian War (so 18.10.1–2, describing the mood in

---

[15] The figure given for them (10 000) has been deemed plausible by Whitehead 1977, 97. Metics were officially registered as a matter of course: see Rhodes 1993, 497.

[16] The viability of 400 000 has been challenged, even as a figure for householders rather than slaves: so Oliver 2007, 86–87, who suspects corruption of the number.

[17] If Demetrius of Phalerum's discussion was indeed extensive, then what we have from Athenaeus and Ctesicles is a much compressed account. This gives further cause for questioning whether the metic and *oiketai* figures really were produced by Demetrius' formal *exetasmos* as Athenaeus' account implies, or were rather less precise figures included in a wider-ranging discussion in Demetrius' text.

Athens in 323 where "the men of property were advising that no action be taken [against Macedonia] and the demagogues were rousing the people and urging them to prosecute the war vigorously"). His view is, no doubt, overly schematic, but Antipater's alleged justification for the imposition of a property qualification on Athens hinged on that very link: he disenfranchised those under a two thousand drachma qualification on the ground that "they were disturbers of the peace (*tarakhôdeis*)), and war-mongers (*polemikoi*)" (Diod. 18.18.4).[18]

Cassander's settlement similarly eliminated the lowest echelons of the pugnacious Athenian *dêmos*, but it was not as extreme as the settlement imposed by Antipater and could have allowed for the continued enfranchisement of some citizens who were not particularly well off.[19] Mass deportation had accompanied Antipater's settlement. There had been exile both voluntary, for those disqualified from citizenship on account of their poverty, and enforced, for particular politicians antithetical to Antipater's cause (Diod. 18.18.5, Plut. *Phoc.* 28.4); there had also been capital punishments enforced against the champions of the democracy.[20] No such official suppression of dissidents and the dissatisfied is recorded in 317, although we may need to take care distinguishing legal nicety from political reality here.[21] A handful of democratic leaders died in 317, all chased down in private vendettas or condemned by the Athenian courts (Plut. *Phoc.* 38.1). Plutarch names among them Hagnonides, known for his leading role in the overthrow of Phocion and in the ensuing democratic restoration; it is he who features repeatedly in the assemblies which deposed the oligarchic generals, condemned Phocion, and negotiated with Cassander's

---

[18] Compare De Ste Croix 1981, 292 (on 322). Green 2003, 2–3 suggests further that the reduction in citizen numbers was aimed at reducing the pool of Athenian rowers, thereby neutralising any threat remaining from the Athenian navy after the Lamian War.

[19] So Gehrke 1978, 179–80 on the socio-economic profile of Athenians qualifying under Cassander.

[20] On the deaths, see above, 26, 33. That Antipater demanded exile for individual democratic leaders is not specified, but is suggested by the case of the popular leader, Hagnonides, against whose banishment Phocion himself intervened (Plut. *Phoc.* 29.3). He is unlikely, given his political prominence and status as an orator (so Plut. *Phoc.* 33.3), to have been exiled on the basis of poverty.

[21] *Pace* Rosen 1967, 66, for whom the death of Hagnonides is indicative of official demands by Cassander. Plutarch gives no exact context of these condemnations, but as he posits only a short interval between the death of Phocion and the executions of Hagnonides and Demophilus, these extreme democrats may have died very early in the Phalerean regime.

rival, Polyperchon.[22] His death, whether demanded or not, cannot have been unwelcome to Cassander, and the Athenian juries were no doubt courting his favour by bringing in such verdicts.[23] Hagnonides was, however, an extreme case, and his removal does not seem to have been part of a wider general policy; it must be suspected that, of those retaining their citizenship in 317, some if not many may well have been of anti-Macedonian persuasion.

The relative leniency of the 317 settlement, when viewed against its 322 predecessor, may have been felt in more than simple numbers. If the terminology of our sources is anything to go by, those excluded under the 322 census had been completely disenfranchised: Plutarch (*Phoc.* 28.4, 33.2) labels them *atimoi*, a term which could indicate that they had been stripped of all political rights, including the right to sit in the assembly and the law-courts, and this impression is supported by his further description of them as "disenfranchised" (*apopsêphismatoi: Phoc.* 28.4).[24] Descriptions of those alienated by the 317 census are, by comparison, more vague: in Diodorus' formulation of the settlement terms (18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD), Cassander demanded only that "the government was to be managed (*to politeuma dioikeisthai*) on the basis of property qualifications," and this could betoken merely the restriction *of magistracies and offices*, not the franchise as such, to those above one thousand drachmas in property.

The distinction is a significant one for our appreciation of the political dynamic of Demetrius' regime. There are indeed indications of such hostile factions in assemblies during Demetrius' rule: according to Plutarch (*Demetr.* 9.1–3 = Demetr. 29 SOD), when Poliorcetes took the Piraeus in 307, he was acclaimed by "most of the Athenians," and Demetrius of Phalerum subsequently sued for safe conduct from Athens because he feared the citizens more than the enemy. These

[22] Plut. *Phoc.* 33.3–5, 34.5–35.1. He also re-enacted a decree honouring Euphron of Sicyon (*IG* ii^2 448), a decree overturned by the Antipatran oligarchy which celebrated Athens' part in the Lamian War.

[23] Antipater had also allowed Athenian courts to pass sentence against the orators. But Cassander at least did not, as his father had done, employ Macedonian henchmen to carry through those condemnations issued by Athenian courts.

[24] On the implications of *atimia*, Hansen 1976, 61–62. A more partial loss of rights (on which see Andoc. 1.73–76) cannot be ruled out, and Tritle 1988, 137 contends that those disenfranchised in 322 may have retained the theoretical right to sit in the assembly, even if the abolition of assembly attendance pay reduced this in practice.

anti-Demetrius elements were present in Athens throughout his regime,[25] and had the potential to exert pressure through the assembly. The events of late 313, when Demetrius is stated to have been compelled by the Athenian citizens to make terms with the Antigonid general, Polemaeus (Diod. 19.78.4 = Demetr. 22 SOD) proves this to have been the case: this compulsion was surely exercised through the assembly, and the implication is that there were citizens hostile to Demetrius in numbers sufficiently strong to force his hand when opportunities presented themselves.

Any comparative leniency in the property qualification with its admission of a more heterogeneous citizen body was, however, of little comfort to the Athenians. Any restriction to men of property of those political rights once enjoyed by all of Athenian parentage would inevitably be perceived as an oligarchic measure. What needs be noted here, however, is that it was not an oligarchic measure imposed by Demetrius himself. Diodorus (18.74.3) is quite clear that the property qualification was one demanded by Cassander in his initial negotiations with Athens, and the decision was as much pragmatic as ideological. As has been outlined above (35ff), his championing of some form of oligarchy was dictated by his conflict with Polyperchon, and by his adherence to his father's model of settlement; the instability of an overly restrictive oligarchy, however, had been demonstrated by the fate of Phocion's regime, which had been overturned by the return of the disenfranchised. The imposition of a census at a level lower than Antipater's is thus entirely consistent with Cassander's interests; we need not suppose that a financial qualification was urged on him in the first instance by Demetrius.

The distinction is an important one, for the assumption that Demetrius was instrumental in formulating the citizen restriction may colour our view of his other possible constitutional modifications. This is particularly so since there has been a tendency to see in the citizen reduction the influence of Aristotelian ideals about a polity of the 'middle classes' (for which one might look to Aristotle's advocacy of the concentration of political power among hoplites at *Pol.* 1279a39,

[25] Poliorcetes' liberation of Athens differed in this fundamental way from the liberation in 318: Phocion's regime fell when the *exiles returning to Athens* overwhelmed the assembly. The Athenians who reclaimed the democracy in 307 were already resident in that city when Poliorcetes arrived, and Diod. 20.45.4 implies that they seized control through the assembly.

or his rejection of both democratic and oligarchic extremes at *Pol.* 1295b–1296a).[26] Any Aristotelian link is rendered yet more tenuous by the fact that there is no firm evidence to equate the property qualification imposed by Cassander with the 'hoplite census' so favoured by the philosopher: the thousand drachmas required by Cassander *may* have been the hoplite census figure, but more probably so may have been the two thousand drachmas stipulated by Antipater; that earlier settlement had evoked, with its *patrios politeia* rhetoric, the restrictive regime of 411 which had (so Thuc. 8.97.1) overtly claimed to be imposing a hoplite census for citizenship qualification.[27] We ought not thus to see, in the restriction of citizenship, a sign that Demetrius was about to impose some kind of an 'Aristotelian polity of the middle classes' through further modification of Athens' democracy. Reduced citizenship came from above, and was externally driven; it cannot be used as a predictor for further change initiated by Demetrius alone. It now remains to see what was to go on within the state itself, and to examine the institutions of the city manned by this reduced, but yet volatile, citizen body.

3.2 *The assembly and council*

Against the background of a potentially hostile citizen body, the desire for some restriction of the democratic institutions, the assembly and the council, has intrinsic plausibility. The belief that the activity of the assembly and council was indeed curbed by Demetrius is commonplace, and frequently cited as confirmation of this suppression is the dearth of inscribed assembly decrees dating to his regime.[28] Only two may be dated securely to this period (*IG* ii^2 450, an honorary decree

---

[26] As argued, for example, by Cohen 1926, 93–94; Lacroix 1942/43, 19ff; Mossé 1992, 86.

[27] Was Antipater influenced by Aristotle? Perhaps: the *Suda s.v. Antipatros* describes that Macedonian as a pupil of Aristotle. On the problem of the hoplite census and the property qualifications of the late fourth century, see Williams 1983b, esp. 242; also Williams 1983a, 118–19. Those who view the 2000 drachmas set by Antipater as the hoplite census include Jones 1957, 81, Reinmuth 1971, 112 and Gehrke 1976, 92 n. 32. That the 2000 drachma restriction may not have been entirely arbitrary is perhaps suggested by its use in other settlements (such as that Ptolemy imposed on Cyrene (*SEG* 9.1), with discussion by Baynham 2003, 23), although this still leaves us some way from proving its identity as the hoplite figure.

[28] So, for example, Williams 1997, 331 n. 10.

for Asander of Macedon, and *IG* ii^2 453 (*SEG* 32.100), of which only the date formula survives), while Tracy, in his discussion of the epigraphical remains of this period, lists a further four which may possibly belong to our period: *IG* ii^2 418, 585, 592 and 727.[29]

Despite this *prima facie* case, demonstrating any formal suppression of the assembly and council from the lack of surviving inscriptions is, in fact, rather difficult. Epigraphical output is rarely a straightforward measure of the democratic nature of a regime (Antipater's oligarchy was, after all, prolific in its publications),[30] and analogies with other types of records under Demetrius suggest that the lack of assembly *inscriptions* may not itself be indicative of the status of this body. Council and ephebic lists are cases in point: they disappear under Demetrius' rule,[31] but the institutions to which they relate are known to have survived. The continued existence of the council is affirmed in the assembly decrees *IG* ii^2 450 and 453, and that of the *ephebeia* suggested by a mention, in *IG* ii^2 2323a ll.46–47, of an ephebe in 312/11. Similarly, inscriptions pertaining to the Dionysia and Lenaea apparently cease, despite the attested continuation of such festivals, while no inscriptions recording mining leases can be dated securely to this period.[32] This wide-ranging decrease in records may warn that our lack of assembly resolutions owes more to a cost-saving reduction in the practice of inscribing resolutions than to a curtailment of the assembly itself; other, less expensive media (whitened boards or papyrus) may have been in favour instead. The possibility (canvassed by Rhodes)[33] that the public fund which paid for assembly inscription was abolished some time before 307 lends weight to this explanation. (So too does another indication of a reduction in public expenditure:

---

[29] Previously associated with the regime but now re-dated are *IG* ii^2 449, 451, 452, 454 and 549 (Tracy 1995, 36 n. 2). The focus here, it should be noted, is on material generated at *polis* level; individual demes continued to commit some of their enactments to stone: thus, for example, *EM* 13262 (on which, see Whitehead 1986, 235–52), and the inscriptions made in Aixone, *IG* ii^2 1200–1201.

[30] See the detailed discussion of inscriptional output and the political flavour of regimes in Athens by Hedrick 1999, esp. 402–3; also Oliver 2003, 41–42 on Antipater's oligarchy in particular.

[31] For the rejection of a Phalerean date for *IG* ii^2 2970, an ephebic list inscription once thought to belong to the archonship of Praxibulus (315/14), see Mitchel 1964, 349–50.

[32] For the celebration of the Dionysia, see Duris (Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD). On mining leases see Crosby 1950, and on the continuation of mining in the period, below 190.

[33] Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 44.

Asander of Macedon was voted an honorary equestrian statue, and it has been inferred, from the lack of any mention of provisions for the payment for the statue, that Asander may have been required to pay for this himself.)[34] Economies of expenditure may have been on Demetrius' agenda, which makes the poor inscriptional record by itself an inconclusive measure of the activity of the assembly.

The inscriptional remains from the regime can allow us some glimpse of the functioning of the council and assembly, although the limitations of the evidence should not be underestimated. As the sole decree to survive in any substantial form from Demetrius' government, *IG* ii² 450 is often made to bear much of the interpretative weight for the regime; it is this decree that is to be compared and contrasted, in its processes and its terminology, with the decrees that went before and came after, and so it is this decree that often serves as a measure of the political complexion of the regime. It is one of the ironies of the period that this inscription is plagued by controversy, and the very task of comparing the decree for Asander with other Athenian decrees has been complicated by uncertainties about the nature of *IG* ii² 450 itself.

The decree survives in two non-continuous fragments. The first portion (breaking off at l.22) records Asander's visit to Athens and his donation of resources; the second portion resumes with additional reasons for honours, and a list of honours bestowed. In his publication of the inscription, Osborne was moved to posit a grant of citizenship lost between the two fragments, arguing that in the lacuna an original decree (for citizenship) ended, and that an amendment to that decree began; certainly, the other honours awarded Asander (notably dining rights for life (*sitêsis*)) usually presuppose an earlier conferral of citizenship.[35] Measured against the standard pattern to which honorary decrees conform, however, the arrangement of material throughout the inscription as formulated by Osborne is curious: an honorand's benefactions are normally listed in their entirety, with the resulting honours specified afterwards. That our fragments preserve an original and an 'amendment' is indeed likely; that Asander was granted citizenship is not, however, universally accepted,[36] nor is it clear whether the

---

[34] Wilhelm 1900/01, 158; followed by Ellis 1968. Provisions for payment may however have been lost in the lacuna caused by the fragmentation of the stone.

[35] Osborne 1981a, 111 (his commentary on his D42).

[36] Gawantka 1983, 599 raised early objections against the need to supply a citizenship grant in the lacuna.

second portion of the decree belongs to a true amendment, formulated in the assembly during its debate on the original motion, or is rather a 'pseudo-amendment' passed at a later date.[37]

Some anomalies in the surviving portions of the decree(s) for Asander may point to changes in assembly procedure under Demetrius: the lack of payment provisions in particular, as has been noted, may indeed reflect a reduction in public expenditure on such items. The absence of any mention of the assembly secretary (the *grammateus*) in the prescript may also betoken change (on which, below). But for such peculiarities, alternative explanations exist. It is possible, for example, that the provisions for the inscription of the decree have simply been lost in the lacuna.[38] A more radical explanation of the anomalies has been posed by Hartel, who argued that the inscription is not in fact an official copy of the assembly decree, but rather a version commissioned by Asander himself (perhaps to stand in the agora by the statue voted for him).[39] Hartel was prompted to this conclusion by a number of divergences from standard honorific decrees in the formulation of *IG* ii^2 450, such as the omission of the characteristic formula, 'it was resolved by the council and the people' (*edoxen têi boulêi kai tôi dêmôi*) and by the introduction of the laudation before the motivation clauses which (unusually) are not prefaced by 'since' (*epeidê*); he noted also the absence of the secretary. Hartel's thesis has some attraction, as it is difficult to rationalise a reversal of the traditional order of grants and laudation in official honorific texts of a regime; moreover, Asander's creation of an unofficial, 'private paraphrase' is quite understandable if there had indeed been a reduction in state expenditure, such that Asander had to pay for his own statue and own inscription. But Athenian decrees were never *entirely* regular in their wording, and to decide for or against Hartel is very much to prejudge the precise issue at hand: whether or not the perceived anomalies indicate a decline in adherence to established assembly forms under Demetrius' guidance, or simply betoken the unofficial nature of the text, or are yet again simply encompassed by the individual variations possible

---

37 If the two fragments of the decree in fact belong to separate assembly meetings, and were not moved on the same day as Osborne supposes, it becomes unnecessary to presume that a citizenship grant was recorded in the lacuna: see Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 42 n. 41 with 22–23 on the distinction between amendments proper and pseudo-amendments.

38 See Osborne 1981a, 111 (his commentary on D42) cf. Osborne 1982, 115.

39 von Hartel 1878, 40, 54.

within inscriptions of any era, cannot be determined without reference to other inscriptions from the Phalerean period, and it is just such opportunity for comparison that is so pointedly lacking for Demetrius' regime.

While *IG* ii^2 450, the most extensive of our Phalerean inscriptions, can be used only with great caution as a barometer for procedural change, the detailed examination of the prescripts of all the remaining inscriptional testimonia, however piecemeal, can still offer results. That some of the formal mechanisms of both assembly and council were still in place is confirmed by mentions, in the preambles of *IG* ii^2 450 and 453, of a *proedros*, or chairman (one of a nine-strong panel which presided over the meetings of the assembly; the *proedroi* were selected by lot from members of the council). In addition, as Tracy observes, the formulae of the prescripts indicate that the assembly meetings at which the decrees were passed were ordinary ones: they occurred in accordance with the standard schedule of regular meetings, rather than being summoned extraordinarily.[40] Both features are indicative of the continued functioning of the democratic *boulê* and assembly.[41]

There is, however, one aspect of the decree preambles that has been taken as an indication of oligarchic interference with the running of the assembly. It concerns the assembly secretary, the *grammateus kata prutaneian*,[42] who was responsible for recording assembly business and preparing motions for inscription. The political complexion of a regime may be reflected in the appearance in decree prescripts of 'secretarial cycles': that is, a rotation among the ten Attic tribes from which this official was chosen each year. Such a tribal rotation in these secretaries

[40] Tracy 1995, 37.

[41] Some potential 'indicators' of the health of the democratic institutions are meaningless for this period. This is certainly the case when it comes to analysing the relative proportion of probouleumatic, as compared to non-probouleumatic, decrees passed by the assembly (the former being those originating from the council and passed largely in the form drafted by the council). Oliver 2003 analyses the oligarchy of Phocion and concludes from the preponderance of non-probouleumatic decrees that the authority of the council—a cornerstone of the democracy—was compromised in that regime. The decree for Asander of Macedon appears similarly non-probouleumatic (Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 42), but there are too few assembly decrees on record to extrapolate any general tendencies.

[42] [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 54.3. His title was variously *grammateus kata prutaneian* or *grammateus tês boulês*: Rhodes 1972, 136–37.

(first identified late in the nineteenth century)[43] has been isolated as an essentially 'democratic' feature; oligarchic regimes tended to dispense with this rotating secretarial position. Thus, for example, the cycle of tribal affiliations in secretaries is absent in two periods of oligarchic supremacy in Athens during 322–318 (under Antipater's settlement), and again in 294–291.[44]

Superficially, Demetrius' regime fails this democratic test. There are no secretaries attested at all among those decrees securely dated to the period of his hegemony, and the identity of the tribes from which the secretaries were drawn for the years framing Demetrius' regime do not allow for any such continuous rotation of tribes during his decade in power. In the year in which Demetrius came to power (a year begun under the uncurtailed democracy), the secretary had been drawn from tribe II (Aigeis);[45] in the year in which full democracy was restored after Demetrius (307/6), the secretary was drawn from Demetrias (a tribe newly created to honour Poliorcetes and placed second in the revised tribal order),[46] after which a tribal rotation of secretaries once more emerges.[47] The first tribe to provide the secretary in this re-established pattern is Aiantis (numbered ninth before the addition of Demetrias). The resumption of a tribal rotation with Aiantis is somewhat baffling. After the tribal secretarial rotation had last been disrupted (under Phocion, 322/21–319/18), the restored democracy in 318 had simply resumed the secretarial rotation where it had been broken off in 322, but there is no such obvious explanation of the pattern in 307/6 (when tribe III should, by rights, have provided the secretary, the last secretary in 318/17 having come from tribe II). The tribe to furnish a secretary in 307/6 may conceivably have been selected by lot; alternatively, as Tracy has indeed ventured,[48] tribes III–VIII may have served under Demetrius, but this suggested solution would still not permit a continuous tribal rotation for the entire decade of Demetrius' rule.[49] It is tempting to speculate that there may

---

43 Ferguson 1898.

44 Osborne 1985, 283–285 and 1989, 210–214.

45 For 318/17 and the post-Phalerean years discussed below, Meritt 1977, 171 gives the bibliography for the relevant prescripts.

46 The secretary's deme was Diomeia, one of the demes assigned to Demetrias.

47 Priority was, no doubt, given to this new tribe to heighten the flattery of Poliorcetes.

48 Tracy 1995, 37 n. 6.

49 Another very marginal possibility is that Aiantis had some special claim because

have been a break in the cycle mid-way through Demetrius' decade in power, and that the cycle, observed in the initial years of the regime, may have been broken only after 312/11 (thus after tribes III–VIII had served their normal turns); other indications of slight irregularities in the regime belong to the later years (such as Demetrius' own tenure of the archonship, and *possibly* the elevation of a sympathiser to the same post in 312/11—on which, see below). But any such 'solution' to the question of tribal rotation remains purely speculative; we simply do not have the evidence to enable us to chart such potential developments over the course of Demetrius' rule.

In any event, the ideological significance of this problem of the tribal rotation may be overstated. Any genuine importance of the tribal rotation has already been seriously questioned by Rhodes, whose analysis of Athenian decrees leads him to conclude that the interruption or abandonment of the cycle while a *grammateus* is still retained is a hazardous guide to the complexion of a regime; in his view, a more telling indication of disruption of democratic processes is the replacement of the usual *grammateus* by an alternative official.[50] Phocion's oligarchy had ousted the *grammateus* in favour of a new secretary, styled the *anagrapheus*, and the oligarchs of 294–91 did the same.[51] Using this criterion, the judgement on Demetrius' regime becomes much less clear. No such *anagrapheis* were created by Demetrius to replace the tribal *grammateus*, and we cannot even be sure that the *grammateus* was abolished rather than simply not featuring in a regular fashion on surviving prescripts. A *grammateus*

of a so-called 'privilege of Aiantis' (but see Osborne 1985, 292 n. 61 cf. 285 n. 30, who is justifiably sceptical of this explanation).

[50] It may be equally misguided to test *IG* ii^2 450 for other supposed indications of 'oligarchic' practices, such as the abolition of *dokimasia* for citizenship grants (I leave aside here the question of whether a citizenship grant was indeed recorded on this inscription, on which see above 118). *Dokimasia* involved the subjection of an assembly award of citizenship to a second scrutiny by a court, and Osborne 1983, 164–67 identified its presence or absence as an indicator of the political complexion of a regime (particularly in the third century). Rhodes (in Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 52; Rhodes 1993b 1–3) has already raised serious objections to Osborne's thesis. Any attempt to draw inferences from the absence of a *dokimasia* provision in the sole honorary decree from Demetrius' regime (*IG* ii^2 450) is particularly unfounded, since it is not at all clear that *dokimasia* was ever regularly performed until *after* Demetrius' fall from power: its first appearance is in *IG* ii^2 398b of 319/18, and it features only sporadically in the decrees of the democracy restored in 307; it becomes a more regular feature of citizenship awards in the third century.

[51] Dow 1963, 37–54; Henry 1977, 50.

appears on neither *IG* ii^2 450 nor 453, but the significance of the omission from the first of these depends heavily on the acceptance of that inscription as the record of the official assembly enactment (thus above, 119). Counterbalancing the lack of secretaries here are the traces of *grammateis* on two fragmentary decrees, *IG* ii^2 418 and *IG* ii^2 585, that may *possibly* be of Demetrian provenance. *IG* ii^2 418 survives only in its concluding lines, but among them (l.4ff) is an instruction to the annual secretary to attend to the inscription of the resolution (*anagrapsai tode to psêphisma ton grammatea ton kata prutaneian en stêlêi lithinêi*).[52] Of *IG* ii^2 585, little more than the prescript remains and that too is plagued by lacunae, but the final letters of the secretary's office are visible, occurring, moreover, after the prytany in the place where a secretary is normally listed.[53] Viewed *in toto*, the inscriptional remains of Demetrius' government, scant though they be, present a picture of the *grammateus* not markedly different from the records of clearly democratic phases of the city's history, since failure to document secretaries consistently on inscriptions is not actually confined to non-democratic regimes. Variation in the positioning of the *grammateus* in the prescript is documented in the 340s, while in the full democracy restored in 307/6, a democracy that committed a great many decrees to stone, the secretary is not listed in a number of prescripts.[54] Even under indisputably democratic periods, then, the annual secretary in a preamble is not uniformly recorded; his pragmatic disappearance from some inscriptions at a time when few assembly enactments were being committed to stone (as was the case under Demetrius) becomes even less remarkable and falls well short of establishing Demetrius' regime as characteristically oligarchic.

[52] Habicht has associated this decree for Carthaginian envoys with the war between Agathocles and Carthage of 309/8, but the context is contested (on which, below 284 nn. 102–103).

[53] According to Tracy 1995, 36 n. 2 (cf. 40 n. 24), J. Morgan believes that this fragment belongs to 314/13.

[54] In *IG* ii^2 224 (343/42), for example, the *grammateus* is listed first, before the archon; in the most common formulae, the secretary is listed after the archon and the prytany (as in, for example, *IG* ii^2 448). For the prescripts of the democracy restored in 307/6, see Henry 1977, 59 n. 37. That this restored democracy of 307/6 was keen to advertise its very democratic flavour is apparent not so much from the great output of inscriptions at this time, but rather from the self-consciously democratic and sometimes archaising formulae adopted in the decrees, on which see esp. Hedrick 1999, 413–14, 423.

We have seen little clear evidence, then, of interference in the mechanisms of the assembly and council, beyond a superficial change (the absence of regular recording of the *grammateus*), and even this change can be explained in terms of decreasing inscriptions rather than as an ideologically driven reform. While the formal apparatus of the assembly and council appear to have remained largely unchanged, Cassander may yet have cast a shadow over the Athenians' democracy; the independence of the assembly may well have been compromised in practice. Indeed, Cassander's hegemony had a discernible impact in two areas that were central to the assembly's work: the authorisation of military expeditions and the bestowal of honours upon individuals.[55] In essence, both of these areas are fundamentally concerned with foreign policy; this is obvious for military ventures, but it is true also of honours, most particularly the conferral of citizenship on state benefactors, honours which were often granted to further Athenian foreign aims. The *de facto* surrender of independent control of foreign policy was the main concession made to Cassander under the peace settlement of 318/17, and it is only to be expected that this impacted on the autonomy of the Athenian assembly.

It is, in consequence, unsurprising that all known military activity under the regime of Demetrius was consistent with Cassander's policies (although the extent of Athenian subordination may be overstated: see chapter six). Cassander's direct control is most clearly shown in Diodorus' account of the Lemnos campaign (19.68.3 = Demetr. 21 SOD), in which he is stated to have sent orders for a fleet mobilisation to Demetrius and to the Piraeus garrison commander. The little available evidence from the epigraphic record upholds this impression of Macedonian dominance. *IG* ii^2 682, an honorific decree from the 250s for one Phaedrus of Sphettus,[56] documents two military expeditions undertaken by Phaedrus' father, Thymochares, during the period of Demetrius' rule: a naval campaign against Glaucetas, and assistance to Cassander at Oreus (both discussed below, 257ff). For neither of

[55] These are certainly the areas which generated the bulk of fourth-century assembly inscriptions, although this prevalence of honorary decrees need not reflect accurately the overall business of the assembly, since other forms of decrees may have been recorded in other forms: so Hansen 1974, 62 who calculates that some two thirds of all inscriptions from the fourth century relate to honours and citizenship grants.

[56] The dating formulae are lost, but a temporal context of the 250s has generally met with favour: Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 52 n. 113 cites the most important contributions to the discussion on the date of the decree.

these campaigns is there any indication of a referral of the expedition to the assembly: in the campaign at Oreus, for example, Thymochares is described (ll.14–15) as being simply "sent out as general of the ships of the city." The decree documents assembly authorisation only for the first campaign in which Thymochares participated, a naval campaign near Cyprus which pre-dates Cassander's settlement of Athens;[57] the fleet was then sent out by the *dêmos* (ll.6–7). The change of formula for the expeditions under Cassander, if not to be explained merely as the avoidance of repetition in the phrasing of the decree, may reflect a lack of any involvement on the part of the assembly in foreign affairs.

In the bestowal of honours, the influence of Cassander is again discernible. The one surviving honorific decree from this period, *IG* ii^2 450, is for Asander of Macedon; he was an ally of Cassander, and the honours granted him date to a year (314/13) in which Cassander and Asander were engaged in joint campaigning against Antigonus Monophthalmus. These circumstances of the grant render it almost certain that the honours were granted at the direction (explicit or otherwise) of the Macedonian hegemon, as do the excessive scale of the honours: Asander was allowed to set up a bronze equestrian portrait of himself (a form of portrait rare in honorary decrees), and was granted *sitêsis*, a most prestigious benefaction which afforded the honorand dinner at state expense for the rest of his life; he was possibly granted Athenian citizenship in addition, although this is not preserved on the two surviving fragments of the inscription.[58] The *stêlê* on which Asander's honours were displayed is itself immense: standing at over two metres tall, it is one of the largest honorary inscriptions known. Even if Asander had to pay for his statue and for the inscriptional record of his honours, as seems likely, these are still significant accolades. But while Macedonian interest is likely, it is important to note that here at least the assembly retained its formal involvement, for the grants to Asander are given its authority.[59]

---

[57] The Cyprus campaign is here assumed to have taken place in 321. This date is however, contentious: others have located it in 315 (see further 254–57), which would alter the picture of mobilisations under Cassander's hegemony advanced here.

[58] On the prestige of *sitêsis*, Henry 1983, 275ff and for the statue on horseback, Dow 1963b, 83. On the possible grant of citizenship, see above, 118.

[59] Indeed, the motion to honour Asander originated in the assembly itself, rather than the assembly simply ratifying a recommendation (*probouleuma*) presented to it by the council. Later (from the first half of the third century), the assembly was not as actively involved in government, and tended rather to 'rubber-stamp' motions framed in advance by the council: so Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 29–31, cf. 51.

Macedonian interests are clear in the few other examples of public honours. Cassander himself seems to have been the subject of a portrait statue, a marble found in the vicinity of the Piraeus.[60] Demetrius too is reported by a variety of sources to have received a similar honour (see Demetr. 24A–25C SOD), with most versions indicating that these statues were publicly conferred (i.e. granted by the assembly, not privately erected); Diogenes Laertius (5.77 = Demetr. 1 SOD) adds the further detail that one statue of Demetrius stood on the Acropolis, and a statue in this location is likely to have been officially granted.[61] Beyond these details, the tradition on Demetrius' statues is rather suspect: the number granted is a movable feast, ranging from a 'mere' three hundred to a staggering fifteen hundred, with all but one allegedly torn down after his downfall (Diogenes Laertius adds the picturesque detail that they were made into chamber-pots). What is troubling about this tradition is that, from all these hundreds of statues, none survives—not even a base, although a single example surviving on the Acropolis was known to Diogenes Laertius or his source (Diog. Laert. 5.77).[62] Either the Athenians were ruthlessly efficient in their destruction, or the tradition grossly exaggerated; it is easy to see how the numbers might have come to be vastly inflated, since the overturning of Demetrius' statues became something of a literary *topos*, a symbol of the transience of excessive honours and the mutability of fortune. Whether the Athenians granted Demetrius one or one hundred statues, however, it is still clear that such honours were monopolised by a close circle associated with Cassander and with Macedonian interests.

Even here there are nuances and subtleties to be teased out. In a recent article on the portraits and dedications found on the Hellenistic Acropolis, von den Hoff has argued that the Acropolis was becoming, from the end of the fourth century, a site reserved for the honouring of citizens alone; no dedications or honours for foreigners are to be found in the sanctuaries in this sacred space on the citadel.[63] If this is so, it

---

[60] Palagia 1998 identifies as Cassander the torso catalogued as Piraeus Museum 3776.

[61] So von den Hoff 2003, 178.

[62] For attempts (now discredited) to identify Egyptian portraits as Demetrius, see Lauer 1951/52 and Picard 1953. Even the statue base thought to belong to an equestrian portrait of Demetrius of Phalerum (Kalogéropoulou 1969) is probably to be associated rather with his descendant of the same name: Tracy 2000, 336.

[63] von den Hoff 2003, esp. 178ff The date at which the Acropolis became the exclusive preserve of Athenians is uncertain; it may be a Lycurgan innovation. Whatever its provenance, this exclusivity seems to have been upheld by Demetrius.

would seem that Demetrius was attempting to assert, albeit in a symbolic gesture, a distinction between the recognition of the Macedonian rulers on the one hand and the celebration by Athenians of fellow citizens. Such a gesture of exclusivity and independence, however, could hardly disguise the reality, which was that the twin facets of foreign affairs in which we would expect the Athenian assembly to have been involved—military ventures and the granting of honours—were heavily influenced by Macedonian concerns. One suspects that the assembly's activity, with the notable exception of a diplomatic coup achieved in 312 (when the assembly forced Demetrius of Phalerum to make peace overtures to Cassander's then opponent, Antigonus Monophthalmus: below, 268–71), often consisted of lending its imprimatur to suggestions brought before it by Cassander and his deputies.

Chief among those deputies must have been Demetrius of Phalerum himself. It is likely, indeed, that the representation of Cassander and his interests before the assembled Athenians was a key aspect of Demetrius' responsibility to Cassander as his overseer, or *epimelêtês*. This is in fact confirmed by the ancient literary sources, which suggest that Demetrius often appeared before the assembly (and courts), and indicate moreover a close connection between these appearances and his hold on power. Of Demetrius, Diogenes Laertius writes "though public speeches (*dêmêgorôn*) he led the city for ten years" (5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD), with which one might compare the *Suda* (*s.vv. Dêmêtrios Phanostratou Phalêreus* = Demetr. 2 SOD): "he became the leader (*dêmagôgos*) of the people at Athens." Diogenes further includes in his list of Demetrius' works at 5.80 a collection of public speeches (*dêmêgoriôn*). Demetrius himself apparently noted the importance of public address in political success: "that speech has as much force in political affairs as iron has in war" is among the apophthegms attributed to him (Diog. Laert. 5.82). Demetrius' demagogic behaviour hints at the tension between the Athenian assembly and the demands of Macedonian hegemony: the military subjugation of Athens may have reduced the assembly's ratification of Demetrius' proposals to a mere formality, but it is significant nonetheless that Demetrius still deemed it worthwhile to seek its favour.

The language of our sources is indicative not of a man who legislated away the constitutional powers of the assembly, but of one whose personal influence gave him *de facto* guidance of the *dêmos*. The obvious comparison, and one made already in antiquity, is with Pericles: Plutarch's assessment of Demetrius' power, in which he describes the Athenian state after 317 as "in theory an oligarchy, but

in practice a monarchy" (*logôi men oligarkhikês, ergôi de monarkhikês*) (*Demetr.* 10.2 = Demetr. 18 SOD), is surely a conscious reminiscence of Thucydides' portrayal of fifth-century Athens under Pericles as being "in name a democracy, but in reality a rule by the foremost individual" (*logôi men dêmokratia, ergôi de hupo tou prôtou andros arkhê*: 2.65.9). Another coupling of Demetrius and Pericles in the ancient literature serves to shed additional light on the nature of Demetrius' political power. In a discussion about the employment of largesse to secure political favour, Plutarch offers Demetrius and Pericles as two statesmen who made particular use of such a ploy (*Mor.* 818c–d = Demetr. 50 SOD). This demagogic strand in Demetrius' policy was seized upon by his enemy, Demochares, who offers as evidence of Athens' subjection after 317 a festival procession in which Demetrius had allegedly paraded various symbols of the Athenians' submission to Macedon (Polyb. 12.13.10 = Demetr. 89 SOD).[64] Demochares imputes to Demetrius a policy of bread and circuses that encouraged the *dêmos* to suspend its political involvement; the notion that citizens' political spirit was undermined through distributions of largesse goes back, of course, to Plato (*Gorg.* 515e), who made such an accusation against Pericles—the very figure with whom Demetrius is compared in Plutarch's discussion of political largesse. Again, the implications are not of formal interference in the mechansisms of democracy, but of an undermining of democratic vigour through the personal influence of a single individual.

When we attempt to look beyond Demetrius himself for indications of a narrow clique or ruling cabal dominating the assembly, the evidence begins to falter. Very little is documented of individuals other than Demetrius himself who participated actively in state affairs during the regime.[65] We know of Thrasycles of Thria as the proponent of *IG* ii^2 450 authorising Asander's honours. His attainment of high office under

[64] On the parade itself, and on further implications of Demochares' criticisms which echo complaints made against the Athenians by Demosthenes, see below 182, 193 n. 83.

[65] I omit here consideration of Aristocrates, son of Aristophanes, the proposer of the decree from the deme Aixone in honour of Demetrius (*IG* ii^2 1201 = Demetr. 16B SOD). He himself was honoured in *IG* ii^2 1202, l.6, another deme decree which belongs to the archonship of Theophrastus; since Tracy 1995, 73 n. 7 identifies this Theophrastus as the archon of 328/27, not that of 313/12 (against Whitehead 1986, 90–92, 218–19, 376), Aristocrates is not attested in the Phalerean period except as the proponent of *IG* ii^2 1201.

the regime of Phocion (he was the *anagrapheus* of 321/20)[66] suggests a personal connection with Demetrius of Phalerum, and might hint that public affairs after 317 were monopolised by a narrow clique; with him may perhaps be compared the general, Thymochares, who was elected to commands under the regimes both of Phocion and of Demetrius and who subsequently disappears from the historical record.[67] There is a danger, though, in assuming for either man too rigid a political adherence, or too intimate a connection with Demetrius, on the basis of their activity under the earlier oligarchy. Thymochares' youthful associations, for example, had brought him also into the ambit of Lycurgus.[68] In Thrasycles' case, while the prominence of the men who served as *anagrapheis* might suggest that they were elected to office (rather than appointed by lot), and that they were thus men sympathetic to the regime of the day, it is also clear that they were not so implicated in that regime as to suffer condemnation in 318. Thrasycles of Thria and at least one other *anagrapheus*, Archedicus of Lamptrai, survived the bloody collapse of that regime.[69]

The existence of a ruling clique is called into question yet more pointedly when we examine the proposer of our other Demetrian decree, *IG* ii[2] 453 (from 309). A man of a rather different political pedigree, Telocles, son of Telegnotus of Alopeke,[70] is known from *Agora* XVI no. 102,[71] a decree passed in the turbulent months after Phocion's coterie had been ousted by returning Athenian exiles and a democratic regime restored.[72] In this 319/18 decree, Telocles initiated honours for a metic

---

[66] Inscriptions attesting Thrasycles' position as *anagrapheus* in 321/20 are catalogued by Dow 1963, 44–45. He may also be the Thrasycles mentioned in the private document *SIG*[3] 1259, l.11.

[67] Thymochares' campaigns are listed in *IG* ii[2] 682, the decree honouring his son; the campaigns themselves are detailed below, 254ff.

[68] Davies 1971, nos. 525–26. On the other hand, some continuing political sympathies between Thymochares' family and that of Demetrius' family are suggested by the association of the former's son. Phaedrus, with the nephew of Demetrius of Phalerum; both were prominent under Antigonus Gonatas in the mid-250s. See Dreyer 1999, 189ff for comment.

[69] Oliver 2003, 49–50 similarly cautions against any assumption of too close an association between the *anagrapheis* and Phocion. Plut. *Phoc.* 33.2 may be right in implying that the generals were the target of reprisals in 318, against Diod. 18.65.6 who claims a broader backlash against magistrates in general.

[70] For the restoration of his name to *IG* ii[2] 453, see Habicht 1982, 198, and Tracy 1995, 40.

[71] Originally published as Crosby 1937 no. 1, revised in Crosby 1938. Variant supplements were offered by Moretti 1967 no. 4.

[72] Belonging to Elaphebolion 12, Telocles' motion predates the actual execution of

who was providing accommodation to men recently arrived in Athens; these billeted men are widely believed to have been foreign soldiers.[73] The presence of such foreign troops in Elaphebolion 319/18 is most easily understood in the context of the democratic restitution, since that had already been effected through an invasion of Attica by Polyperchon's son, Alexander. Telocles' 318 decree is thus best seen as part of the wave of honorary measures passed for Polyperchon, Alexander and their supporters in the aftermath of the democratic revival of that year; as such, it puts him at the other end of the political spectrum from Demetrius of Phalerum, who in 318 was condemned to death *in absentia* by the very democracy whose restoration Telocles was indirectly celebrating. In its fragmentary state, the tenor of Telocles' 309 decree cannot be ascertained, but as this decree was one of the few recognised as sufficiently important to inscribe, it is rather unlikely to have been overtly hostile to Cassander's regime; by 309 Demetrius was well established and, without any immediate prospect of a democratic revival, Telocles may well have shifted his allegiances. He was able, however, to serve in the *boulê* again after the fall of Demetrius' regime,[74] and his background should caution against assuming a consistent political stance for all those active in some way during the decade of Demetrius' supremacy.[75]

In sum, a distinction must be drawn between the formal mechanisms of the assembly, and its actual operation, under Demetrius' rule. For

Phocion (on Munychion 19: Plut. *Phoc.* 37.1), but the precedence of the archon over the *anagrapheus* in the preamble to the decree indicates that the democracy had been reinstated (on which, above 30 n. 53, with 37 n. 69). Telocles' decree may be compared with *IG* ii² 387 + Add. p.660, a decree of 319/18 unambiguously post-dating the democratic restoration (there is an explicit reference to the patronage of Polyperchon) which displays the same arrangement of archon and *anagrapheus*.

[73] They are stated to have been accompanied by Proteas, who may be the Macedonian general of that name (on whom Arr. 2.2.4–5, 2.20.2 with Heckel 2006, 233).

[74] See *Agora* XV no. 62 l.309 (303/2).

[75] Even Thrasycles' decree presents a complicated and tantalising picture. The more extraordinary of the honours proposed for Asander (such as an equestrian statue) belong to the second fragment of *IG* ii² 450, a fragment which is either an amendment to the original decree or even a second, separate resolution passed at a later date (Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 23 n. 60; cf. 30 n. 96 tentatively identify it as the latter). Thrasycles' original proposal may have endorsed only an award of citizenship or some other such honour (now lost); the apparent moderation of this initial bill may reflect rather careful diplomacy from Demetrius' circle, not wishing to offend against Athenian sentiment through excessive honours to Macedonian satraps. It is a great pity that the identity of the author of the amendment/second decree is lost. Gauthier 1998, 600 is inclined to see in these more excessive honours the demands of the satrap himself.

the most part, the democratic *apparatus* of the assembly were retained; the possible exception here is the reduced importance of the assembly secretary, the *grammateus*, whose demotion may well be financially, rather than ideologically, significant. In practice, however, the control over foreign policy exerted by Cassander (through his formal alliance with Athens, and through the Macedonian garrison in the Piraeus) had a real impact on the council and assembly in a significant area of their competence. That impact was exerted chiefly through influence of Demetrius himself over the assembly, an influence that need not have relied upon extra-legal means. Demetrius, like Pericles before him, dominated an assembly that was not subject to any formal restriction of its traditional mechanisms, but this lack of formal restraint did not lessen the reality of his dominance.

3.3 *Elections and the archonship*

The replacement of sortition by election for the selection of the officials of state would have been in general accord with oligarchic criticisms of sortition, and would further have allowed the elevation of sympathisers.[76] Both the ideological and the practical considerations have made commonplace the attribution to Demetrius of Phalerum of just such a change, particularly for the selection of the chief magistrate of the state, the eponymous archon.[77]

The main argument has been prosopographical: the identification among the archons of individuals thought to have been political associates of Demetrius and, even more tellingly, the archonship in 309/8 of Demetrius himself. It is Demetrius' archonship that has been accorded the greatest weight, but in reality it is insufficient to prove the introduction of election as the standard procedure.[78] Informal manipulation of

---

[76] On the rival virtues of election and sortition, see for example Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.9; Isoc. 7.22–3. Arist. *Rhet.* 1393b4–8.

[77] So, for example, by Williams 1987, 97. Williams ascribes Demetrius' supposed introduction of election to the influence of Theophrastus, for whose views on election he notes a palimpsest fragment of Theophrastus' *Nomoi* (= Theophr. App. 7 FHS&G, on which see, among others, Oliver 1977). It is not entirely clear from this fragment, however, that Theophrastus is actually advocating an extension of election: the offices he concentrates upon (the generals, and financial posts) were already elective in Athens. Aristotle did recommend election, but notably without a property qualification (*Pol.* 1294b3–16), making him a poor model for any supposed Phalerean elective system.

[78] One might note too that Demetrius declined to assume repeated archonships;

the lot-process to impose a preferred candidate may suffice to explain any tenure of office by Demetrius or his partisans. Archons were chosen through two allotments, and the initial selection process (undertaken at the tribal level) was made from only those citizens who offered themselves for service.[79] It would surely have been possible for a pre-eminent individual to exert influence over this first step. The mere publicizing of the fact that Demetrius had entered his name for the tribal lot, for example, could have induced other prudent hopefuls to withdraw their names, leaving him as the unchallenged nominee for office. Tracy has suggested that just such informal pressure was used in the first century to secure multiple archonships for Medius, a supporter of Roman interests in Athens; still in the Roman era, we might add Verres' clever solution for securing a sympathiser's appointment to the priesthood of Zeus at Syracuse without actually dismantling the sortitive process.[80]

These same objections can be lodged against any argument based on the identity of other archons of this period. Of the ten eponymous archons who served between 317/16 and 307/6, seven are known to us only as chronological reference points,[81] but two—Democlides and Polemon, of 316/15 and 312/11 respectively—have been identified as close adherents of Demetrius, and their elevation cited to confirm the use of election rather than sortition. Any identification of Democlides and Polemon as partisans of Demetrius is, however, highly problematic. Neither name is uncommon,[82] so that the equation of Democlides with the orator of that name,[83] and of Polemon with the homonymous head of the Platonic Academy, remains tenuous and highly speculative.

---

he here distinguishes himself from the model later set by Olympiodorus, a prominent Athenian who assumed the archonship in 294/93 and again in 293/92, in a period which manifest other restrictions of democracy.

[79] Isoc. 15.150, Lys. 6.4, 31.33, cf. Hansen 1991, 231.

[80] Tracy 1991, 203. For Verres, see Cicero *In Verrem* 2.51.126–27; the selection of the Syracusan priest required the selection of three men by vote, then the appointment of one of the three through a lot. Verres contrived for the name of his supporter, Theomnastus, to appear on all three of the lots submitted for sortition.

[81] Besides appearing at the introduction of new Attic years in Diodorus' narrative, on the *Marmor Parium* and in the inscriptional record, the archons of the period are listed in Dion. Hal. *Din.* 9, and in a fragment of a chronographic work published by Soltau 1899.

[82] *LGPN* 2 *s.v.* Polemon isolates 34 individuals in 14 different demes; *s.v.* Democleides has 23 individuals found in 9 demes.

[83] None of the speeches of the orator Democlides survives; some were presumably known to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Din.* 11), who implies that his style was rather poor.

Even setting aside the uncertainties of identity, the assignation of a 'pro-Demetrius' stance to the two archons in question is doubtful. Our understanding of Democlides' political sympathies relies on an anecdote which records his outspoken hostility to Demochares, the nephew of the renowned Demosthenes and himself a keen critic of Demetrius of Phalerum. Opposition to Demochares need not, of itself, betoken an allegiance to Demetrius. Demochares had other enemies, notably among the democrats who came to power under Poliorcetes' domination after 307; these were not men who owed anything to Demetrius of Phalerum.[84] The very tradition linking Democlides with the alleged hostility to Demochares is, moreover, suspect. Our sole authority for his antipathy to Demochares is the *Suda s.vv. hoi to hieron pur*, based ultimately on Timaeus (*FGrHist.* 566 F35): the *Suda* asserts that Timaeus wrote that "those around Democlides (*hoi peri Dêmokleidên*) said against Demochares that he alone of the Athenians was not fit to blow the sacred flame." The *Suda*'s association of this slanderous quip with Democlides, or perhaps with a group ranged around that individual, is made only in this single lemma, despite the fact that the *Suda* reports the jibe in three other entries (on which, below); more seriously, it is at odds with a report of the very same Timaeus passage by Polybius (12.13.1; 6–8 = Demetr. 89 SOD):

> That according to Timaeus, Demochares committed fornication with the upper parts of his body, was not worthy to blow the sacred flame, and in his (erotic) practices went beyond the writings of Botrys and Philaenis and the other pornographers;...For this reason, Timaeus in fact seems to me to accuse not Demochares so much as the Athenians, if they advanced such a man and placed their country and their own lives in the hands of such a man. But none of this is true. For, if it were true, the comic author Archedicus would not, as Timaeus will have it,

[84] So Marasco 1984, 56–58 believes that the attack on Demochares belongs after 307/6. He does suggest an identification of Democlides with one Democles, a student of Theophrastus who defended the sons of Lycurgus: [Plut.] *Mor.* 842e. (The identification was first made by Ruhnken, and found favour with Susemihl 1891, 555 n. 173 and Bayer 1942, 90). Marasco further posits that Democlides'/Democles' opposition to Demochares may have been over the law of Sophocles (a law restricting the freedom of philosophic schools in Athens, discussed below, 213ff). This context might make Democlides/Democles a Demetrian sympathiser, since Sophocles' law was, in many respects, a reaction against Demetrius' regime. But such a reconstruction is highly speculative. The identification of Democlides with Democles, although philologically possible, is unnecessary: Democles too was a very common name. Moreover involvement in the defence of Lycurgus' sons does little to establish pro-Demetrius sympathies.

> have been the only one to say these things about Demochares: no, many of Antipater's associates would have done so—for he (Demochares) was quite outspoken about Antipater and said many things that could hurt not only Antipater himself, but also his successors and associates—and so would many of his political opponents, one of them being Demetrius of Phalerum.[85]

Keen to discredit the allegation against Demochares as repeated by Timaeus, Polybius goes to great lengths to stress that Timaeus' only authority was a comic poet, Archedicus; were the claim true (argues Polybius), then it would have been made also by others hostile to Demochares, especially by those linked with Demetrius of Phalerum. Polybius is certainly guilty of some lack of candour in his response to Timaeus, disparaging Archedicus at 12.13.3 (not quoted above) as a "nameless comic poet" (*komikos tis martus anonumos*) even though he had a prominent political career;[86] despite such manipulation, it is difficult to accept that Polybius can be guilty of misrepresentation to the extent that he implicitly denies the existence of any involvement by Democlides in the attack on Demochares ("Archedicus…would not have been the only one to say these things": *Arkhedikos…elege tauta monos*) if Democlides was in fact implicated by Timaeus.

This contradiction between the *Suda* and Polybius is highly significant. It is clear that the *Suda* is using Timaeus through an intermediary, as a survey of the slander of Demochares, repeated several times in the *Suda*, soon demonstrates.[87] One entry, *s.v. Dêmokharês*, begins with what looks like a direct quotation from Timaeus, but comparison with Polybius' text quickly reveals that the *Suda* compiler has taken the Timaeus passage (along with the following report of Polybius' views on the Timaeus passage) almost verbatim from Polybius. The citation *s.vv. hoi to hieron pur* from Timaeus is introduced in indirect statement with an accusative/infinitive construction (*Timaion…hist orein*) betraying the existence of an intermediary. A third entry, *s.v.*

[85] Polybius goes on to list accusations made by Demochares against Demetrius, which are discussed elsewhere. See esp. below, 193ff.

[86] He was the author of assembly decrees and was *anagrapheus* in 320/19. On the identification of this politician with the comic poet, see Habicht 1993. For his decrees: *IG* ii^2 402 (on which, see Tracy 1993; Bosworth 1993) and possibly *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 30–32 (with Raubitschek 1945). On his magistracy, see the prescripts of *IG* ii^2 380–384. For the political complexion of his career, see also above, 29.

[87] The *Suda* cites Timaeus many times, but of these entries only one (*s.v. Kallikuria* = *FGrHist.* 566 F8) listed by Jacoby is not found in other extant works. It is unlikely, therefore, that the *Suda* had access to Timaeus at first hand.

Arkhedikos, does not repeat the substance of the slander, but agrees with Polybius in naming the author of the abuse as Archedicus.[88] The *Suda*'s source on Timaeus is evidently Polybius, a fact confirmed by the frequent citations by the *Suda* from Polybius' discussion of Timaeus' claims.[89] This does not mean that any allusion to Democlides cannot have come from Polybius; as Walbank observed, the *Suda* may have had access to a more complete version of Polybius than is now available to us.[90] It does mean, however, that any appearance of Democlides in Polybius cannot have been in the rôle suggested by the *Suda*, since to accept that Democlides attacked Demochares requires that Polybius both recorded this attack and at the same time denied that any but Archedicus made it.[91]

Two solutions may be offered.[92] It may be that the *Suda*'s reference to Democlides does not belong with the attack on Demochares, and that there is a lacuna in the text. The entry in which Democlides features—*s.vv. hoi to hieron pur*—appears to catalogue the uses, in Athenian politics, of the particular allegation that an opponent was 'unfit to blow the sacred flame'. The instance of Democlides' attack on Demochares is followed by a reference to Duris, who recorded that the same charge was levelled against Demosthenes by Pytheas.[93] Democlides may have directed this same allegation against a different target, so that his inclusion in this lemma was to provide a third instance of the use of this accusation; it would be the identity of this third target which has been lost from the text as it stands. Timaeus

[88] This entry *s.v. Arkhedikos* reports simply "a comic poet, who wrote against Demochares the nephew of Demosthenes".

[89] Verbatim quotes from Polybius' refutation of Timaeus appear *s.vv. kokhlias, sialos* and *banausos*. The slander of Demochares is repeated also *s.v. hêtairêken*. The *Suda* also uses Polybius as a source for Timaeus' views on Agathocles, material that follows the discussion about Demochares in Polybius book twelve.

[90] Walbank 1967, 356.

[91] It makes difficult the solution of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881; reprint 1965, 193 who suggested that Democlides repeated in a speech an accusation originally made in a comedy by Archedicus. We may even question whether Archedicus necessarily lampooned Demochares on stage rather than in a properly political context: Polybius does not quote the jibe from a specific play, but merely emphasises that Timaeus' source was a comic poet—an emphasis tinged with polemic, since its purpose is to discredit Archedicus' and Timaeus' reliability.

[92] Another suggestion is made by Kassel & Austin 1991, 536: Democlides perhaps was a figure in a comedy by Archedicus in which the allegation was made (although see the above n. 91 on the source being a comedy).

[93] *FGrHist.* 76 F8.

himself, or indeed Polybius, may have recorded this use by Democlides when discussing Archedicus' application of it to Demochares.

Alternatively, Democlides may have been mentioned in the context of the accusation against Demochares, but not in the sense usually understood from the *Suda*. The *Suda*'s phrasing—literally "those around Democlides…said" (*hoi peri Dêmokleidên…eipon*)—is awkward: an expression such as *hoi peri tina* might be used periphrastically for an individual in late sources, but its use to denote authorship of a speech is startling, and unparalleled.[94] As a result, it is questionable whether the phrase necessarily denotes Democlides' authorship of a speech. Democlides perhaps featured merely as a temporal guide, so that Archedicus' jibes against Demochares occurred during Democlides' archonship (316/15); *hoi peri tina* may certainly be used to indicate contemporaneity.[95] On this interpretation, Archedicus slandered Demochares in the archonship of Democlides (316/15), and this is what Timaeus, then Polybius, reported, only to be misrepeated in the *Suda*. The existing text of Polybius is consistent with this suggested chronology. Determined to defend Demochares' honour (and to attack Timaeus), Polybius notes that if the slander against Demochares had had any substance behind it, it would have been voiced not just by the comic poet Archedicus but by "the partisans of *Antipater* and his successors and friends" (12.13.8). The mention here of Antipater, father of Cassander, is suggestive of an early context, for which the archonship of Democlides would be a good fit:[96] Antipater had died in 319, but his influence was such that it would have been possible

[94] That *hoi peri tina* may be used periphrastically of an individual is a possibility discussed by grammarians (Schwyzer 1950, 2.417; Kühner & Gerth 1898, 1.270), although the examples given are inconclusive. Such usage is generally accepted to be a late one: see Dow 1960, 395–96.

[95] Examples are given by Dow 1960, 396.

[96] Few have seriously entertained Meineke's theory (noted by Susemihl 1891, 555 n. 173) that an Antipater of a subsequent generation, such as a son of Cassander, is meant. Admittedly, some of the hostile exchanges between Demochares and Demetrius recounted by Polybius as evidence of their antipathy belong to a later time, and Polybius notes that Demetrius did not include the allegations against Demochares in any response to criticisms that Demochares had made about Demetrius' government. This does not prove that the claim about Demochares' impurity was not first made early in the Phalerean era: Polybius is anxious to demonstrate the ill-feeling between Demochares and Demetrius, and an effective way of doing so is to quote Demochares' histories. Demetrius was no doubt familiar with Demochares' writings, and might have been expected to include in his defence of his government any material, even from the past, which could discredit his foe.

still in Democlides' archonship to think of individuals as *his* partisans, successors and friends; that men would still be categorised in terms of their relations with Antipater much later (say after 307/6, when some would prefer to locate the attack on Demochares)[97] is more difficult to accept.

If the *Suda* gives no authority on which to posit a pro-Demetrius stance to Democlides, the appearance of a Democlides on the archon list no longer gives reason for suspicion about the method by which that appointment was made. The case of that other supposedly partisan archon, Polemon (archon 312/11), is little more compelling. The argument linking him with Demetrius rests on his identification with the Polemon who became scholarch of the Academy ca. 314, a man whose political sympathies did not lie, so Diogenes Laertius claims (4.22), with extreme democracy.[98] The political and military circumstances of Polemon's archon-year may, admittedly, provide a plausible context for some manipulation of the magistracies on Demetrius of Phalerum's part. In late 313, the Antigonid general, Polemaeus, had invaded Greece and crossed the borders of Attica, drawing his army up to the Athenian citadel itself.[99] Diodorus, who describes the incident (19.78.3–4 = Demetr. 22 SOD), reveals that Polemaeus' incursion prompted turmoil in the assembly, with the anti-Cassandran elements in the city gaining sway and Demetrius being forced by the Athenians to contemplate submission to the Antigonids. The elevation to the following archonship of a sympathiser may have been encouraged by a need to reassert order in the city, and the philosopher Polemon's steady and reserved demeanour (the subject of several anecdotes) may have made him well suited to high office in the instability that followed Polemaeus' departure from Attica. While the supposition that Polemon may have been elevated

[97] It has been claimed that Demochares came to political prominence only after 307/6: so Ferguson 1905, 173 and Marasco 1984, 56–57. The first datable event listed on the decree honouring Demochares occurs during the Four Years' War—[Plut.] *Mor.* 851d. But there are traces of earlier activity that could have prompted Archedicus' outburst: see [Plut.] *Mor.* 847d, the substance (if not the detail) of which is defended by Habicht 1993, 265 n. 17. Demochares may also have been involved in the prosecution of the philosopher Theophrastus prior to the establishment of Demetrius' regime (on which, see below, 209–210).

[98] The chief sources on the philosopher are Diog. Laert. and Philodemus, both drawing on Antigonus of Carystus. For analysis of the source tradition, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881 (reprinted 1965), 45ff; Susemihl 1891, 116–8 esp. 116 n. 544.

[99] For discussion, see 268ff.

to office by Demetrius is thus superficially attractive, there is simply insufficient evidence to support it. Nothing in the literary record concerning Polemon the philosopher substantiates his identification with the archon of that name: Diogenes Laertius' report that the philosopher was held in high regard and "honoured in the state" (*etimato en têi polei:* 4.19)[100] is a vague expression which need not betoken any elevation to political office and refers probably to the recognition afforded him as scholarch. In the absence of any positive connection between scholarch and archon, and given the widespread attestation of the name Polemon in Attica (above, 132), the case for Polemon's 'election' as archon of 312/11 must be rejected.

It remains possible, of course, that other archons were sympathetic to the Cassandran government and that their political affiliations have simply not been recorded. But on the current state of evidence, there is no support for regular or sustained interference by Demetrius in the mechanism for the selection of archons. Sortition may have continued throughout the regime, and it may have been allowed to proceed in most years without informal manipulation.

3.4 *Jurisdiction in the courts: the* graphê paranomôn *and* eisangelia

With the assembly, the courts were the touchstone of Athenian democracy. Indeed, the rise of the democracy in Athens in the fifth century had been linked inextricably to the rise of the power of the democratic courts, both the *hêliaia* and the smaller, standing courts or *dikastêria*. Once merely courts of appeal, with the real power vested in the old aristocratic council of ex-archons, the Areopagus, the popular courts had acquired through the fifth century primary jurisdiction over a majority of cases, both private and public. Ephialtes' transfer of some Areopagite power to the people's courts, and Pericles' concomitant encouragement of participation in

---

[100] These honours are said to be due to Athenian approval of Polemon's nobility (*dia to philogennaion*). This nobility may be a reference to Polemon's ancestry. Antigonus of Carystius (Diog. Laert. 4.17) states that Polemon's father, Philostratus, was the leading citizen of his day, and Philodemus (*Index Acad. Herc.* col. XIII Dorandi) seems to have something similar; such claims may well be exaggerated, however, as the father is not elsewhere attested under this name, and the *Suda s.vv. Polemôn ho Akadêmaikos* knows of a variant name, Philocrates.

those courts through the introduction of jury pay,[101] had created a sovereign *dêmos* by granting to that *dêmos* itself the right to enforce its own laws. Throughout the fourth century, participation in the judicial processes had remained a vital facet of the people's claim to political power.

Demetrius of Phalerum is often accused of a number of changes to the democracy's judicial system, changes that would, in essence, have reversed the democratic reforms of the fifth century. Commonly assumed, for example, is an abolition of jury pay, partly because critics of democracy had found fault with such payment and partly on the grounds that the imposition of a property qualification for citizenship would have reduced the need to pay Athenians to perform their political duties.[102] There is, however, no direct attestation of any such change. The allegation by Duris of Samos (ap. Athen. 542c = Demetr. 43A SOD) that Demetrius spent nothing on the administration (*dioikêsis*) of the state could possibly apply to a suspension of jury pay, but might equally apply to any one of a number of other curtailments of expenditure made by Demetrius in areas including inscriptions (above, 117), and public building (below, 191). Cassander's restriction of citizenship certainly disqualified from jury service some who would have felt entitled by their Athenian parentage to sit in the *dikastêria*; whether Demetrius added to this a disincentive against participation for those still qualified to act as jurors, we are in no position to know.

There is also little reason to believe that Demetrius reduced the competence of the courts in any marked fashion. This is particularly the case if the reconstruction of the *nomophulakes* offered in the previous chapter is accepted, since on the earlier view of their competences, Demetrius' *nomophulakes* would have had quite a significant impact on the courts in two of their most important areas

---

[101] The details of the process are obscure, and perhaps clouded by the political propaganda of the fourth century. The central texts for the transfer of power away from the Areopagus and to the people are [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 25.2, 27.1, where Ephialtes and Pericles are named (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 15.2–3, *Per.* 9.5, and also the *Lex. Cantab.* report of Philochorus on *nomophulakes* given above, 76); *Ath. Pol.* 35.2 also mentions an otherwise unknown Archestratus. On the poverty of the Areopagite literary tradition, see in particular Ruschenbush 1966b, 370–72, and Sealey 1964, 11.

[102] So Ferguson 1911a, 57; Lacroix 1942/43, 68; Bayer 1942, 46; Gehrke 1978, 154. Williams 1997, 342 argues, by contrast, that pay was retained—an argument based, however, on a belief that jury sizes increased. The evidence for such a belief is disputed below, 142–44.

of jurisdiction. Thus, if the law-guardians had indeed resided in the assembly "preventing the voting of anything which seemed to them illegal (*paranomôn*) or disadvantageous (*asumphoron*) to the city" (Philoch. *FGrHist.* 328 F64), they would have been arrogating a power long wielded by the people's courts: the assessment of the legality of the laws (themselves enactments by the assembly) had been exercised by the courts through a procedure termed *graphê paranomôn*, which allowed for the prosecution of any proposer of an assembly resolution.[103] The implications of transferring this duty to a board of *nomophulakes* would have been profound. The *graphê paranomôn* had been a vital part of the political process in the fourth century: some thirty-five cases are attested in the period 403–322, and there are indications in the orators that such cases were lodged frequently.[104] It was fundamental to Athenian democracy, in that it allowed for the repeal of any measures deemed in conflict with the constitutional *status quo* or in conflict with the interests of the Athenian people, and it vested the power of the final determination of any such conflict in a popular court. Demosthenes cites a claim (apparently a conventional one) that its abolition was tantamount to the overthrow of democracy itself,[105] and this view is confirmed by the fact that the *graphê paranomôn* was repealed by the oligarchic regimes imposed on Athens in 411 and 404; in those two years, the suspension of the *graphê* had allowed oligarchs to introduce measures incompatible with the democracy.[106] Had Demetrius similarly suspended the *graphê* by imposing *nomophulakes*, he would have been aligning his regime ideologically with the oligarchies of the late fifth century;[107] if his *nomophulakes* were more concerned with enforcing

[103] See Hansen 1991, 206 for provisions of the *graphê*, which is first attested in 415; a related charge, the *graphê nomon mê epitêdeion theinai*, emerges in the early fourth century (see Rhodes 1993, 316).

[104] Hansen 1991, 208. On the frequency of its use, see the (no doubt exaggerated) claims of Aesch. 3.194.

[105] Dem. 58.34; cf. Aesch. 3.196. In speeches dealing with this charge, the plaintiff usually casts the defendant as a threat to the democracy: see Hansen 1974, 55–61.

[106] For 411, [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 29.4; Thuc. 8.67.2. For 404, Aesch. 3.191. The 411 abolition was preceded by the introduction of officials termed *probouloi*, who Arist. *Pol.* 1298b29 suggests may be analogous to the early *nomophulakes* described by Philochorus.

[107] So Ferguson 1911a, 44; Wolff 1970, 25; Cohen 1926, 97; Bayer 1942, 132–36; Gehrke 1978, 154; Hansen 1991, 211; cautiously accepted by Tracy 1995, 38. Lacroix 1942/43, 56–59, in a slight variation on the theme, maintains that the popular courts still judged these cases but that only the *nomophulakes* could initiate prosecutions.

public decorum than with supervising the assembly, however (as has been argued above), then there is no reason to assume any abolition of the *graphê paranomôn* in the popular courts. Thus when we find the *graphê paranomôn* being invoked in 306 and heard, in traditional fashion, by the Athenian courts,[108] it is preferable to see this as an example of a continued usage by the courts, and not as a rescinding of Demetrius' intervening measures.

On the understanding of the *nomophulakes* advocated in chapter two, there is also no reason to suppose that Demetrius' law-guardians enjoyed the right to scrutinise magistrates and so curbed the independence of the courts. Under the democracy, it had been the *boulê* and the popular courts that had imposed checks on Athenian officialdom, ranging from the scrutiny of an official's fitness to take on his duties (*dokimasia*), to the audit of his activities at the conclusion of his term (*euthunai*). Accountability of officials to the people, like the right of the people to determine the legality of the laws, must be deemed a measure of a democracy; both had been integral to Athenian democracy after the reforms of Ephialtes,[109] with both being exercised by the Athenian *dêmos* throughout the fourth century. Any transfer of such accountability away from the people to a board of *nomophulakes* would have been an undemocratic step but, I would argue, not one which Demetrius of Phalerum took.

As far as the evidence permits us to determine, jurisdiction over other important charges also remained with the courts under Demetrius' rule. *Eisangeliai*, or charges of serious offences against the state,[110] are

---

[108] Sophocles, author of a law forbidding the establishment of philosophical schools without official authorization, was prosecuted thus: Diog. Laert. 5.38. The details of the case (the existence of a defence speech, his condemnation for failing to secure at least a third of the votes in the trial) all point to a normal dikasterial hearing. So too judges Gagarin 2000, 353 with n. 16, and Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 42 n. 47.

[109] If we are to believe [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 4.4 and 8.4—and not all do (see above, 78–79)—the Areopagus had enjoyed the right to supervise magistrates prior to Ephialtes' reforms; such a competence was restored (or granted) to the Areopagus in 403/2 (Andoc. 1.83–84). We cannot assume beyond doubt that the scrutiny of officials through *dokimasia* and *euthunai* before the *boulê* and courts was actually established at the time of Ephialtes' reforms in 462/61; it may have developed in the course of the second half of the fifth century. What is important here is that these powers had come to be exercised by the *dêmos*, certainly by the fourth century.

[110] Quoting the authority of Caecilius and Theophrastus, the *Lexicon Cantabrigiense s.v. eisangelia* defines this process as that *kata kainôn kai agraphôn adikêmatôn*, and suggests as appropriate occasions for the charge major acts of treason (including the overthrow of the *dêmos*, the taking of bribes against the interest of the state, the betrayal of the state to the enemy, and fighting on behalf of the enemy).

generally supposed to have been heard still by the courts. The view sometimes advanced—that Demetrius did introduce a change in the *size* of the juries which heard impeachment proceedings[111]—is based on a probable misinterpretation of two fragments which refer to Demetrius and such juries. The fragments in question, both of which occur as part of quite lengthy definitions of *eisangelia*, are as follows (Demetr. 96A & B SOD):

> Poll. 8.53: One thousand judged the impeachments according to Solon (*kata Solôna*); an additional five hundred according to [Demetrius] of Phalerum (*kata ton Phalêrea*).
>
> *Lex. Cantab. s.v. eisangelia:*...It also occurred when those attacking sycophants brought an impeachment, when, as Philochorus [says], there were one thousand jurors seated, but Demetrius of Phalerum [says] there were fifteen hundred.

It is chiefly on the authority of Pollux that some alteration by Demetrius to the *eisangelia* jury is supposed, on the assumption that his phrases *kata Solôna*...*kata ton Phalêrea* are referring not simply to a contrast between two sources (as the translation given above would have it) but rather to a difference in temporal contexts: thus "one thousand judged the impeachments in the time of (*kata*) Solon; an additional five hundred in the time of (*kata*) [Demetrius] of Phalerum." Comparison with the handling of similar material in the *Lex. Cantab.* does suggest at the outset, however, that the contrast ought be read as one of sources rather than of temporal contexts.[112]

Understanding these two passages as documenting a change wrought by Demetrius in the size of *eisangelia* juries also presupposes that the size of such juries was fixed, and that the fixed limit was altered in various periods (so that in the time of Solon, according to Pollux, the

[111] If Demetr. 96A & B SOD are indeed read as documenting a change in jury size, the most natural interpretation is that juries were larger after 317 than before. An increase by Demetrius is therefore assumed by Ferguson 1911a, 44; Gehrke 1978, 154; Williams 1997, 342. By contrast Bayer 1942, 30–32, citing evidence for juries of 2500 in the 320s (Din. 1.52), posited a decrease in panel size.

[112] Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf assign these passages to their collection of fragments from Demetrius' work *On Legislation at Athens* (*Peri tês Athênêsi nomothesias*). In other known fragments of this work (FF97–101), Demetrius seems not to be detailing particular innovations under his own rule, but rather describing established practices. His writing about the *eisangelia* panels may be exactly the same.

jury numbered a thousand,[113] as it did during whatever time-period Philochorus was describing). This presupposition may well be groundless. The lexica and scholiasts record that public charges were handled by juries comprising two *or* three judicial panels (Harpocration and *Suda s.v. hêliaia*; each panel comprised five hundred jurors, so Poll. 8.123 and Harp. *s.v. hêliaia*), and the ultimate decision between a double or triple panel for an individual case seems to have rested on the supposed importance of that case. This seems to be the import of the now fragmentary chapter 68 of the [Aristotelian] *Athênaiôn Politeia*; there is also Pollux 8.123, who asserts that courts of a thousand or fifteen hundred were assembled *as necessary*, while a Demosthenic scholion (Schol. *Dem.* 24.9 (702,24) Dindorf)[114] also links the size of heliastic juries to the importance of the matters before them.[115] All this suggests that jury sizes were not fixed within the legislation covering particular procedures; rather, multiple panels customarily dealt with public charges, and the size of the panel was determined case by case, according to the particular circumstances of each individual charge. This would account for the fact, attested in inscriptions,[116] that the assembly resolutions referring public charges to judicial hearings could specify the size of the court to be assembled in each instance, and could further account for the fact that *eisangelia* juries of fifteen hundred, two thousand and two thousand five hundred are mentioned for individual trials.[117]

It is possible that Pollux and the compiler of the *Lex. Cantab.*, coming across differing estimates of juries in their sources, mistakenly regarded these figures as absolute, and inferred either a temporal change of, or source conflict on, panel sizes. Juries of a thousand and fifteen hundred

[113] This has caused some to doubt the credentials of Pollux or his source, for [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 8.4 is clear that in Solon's time, *eisangeliai* were heard by the Areopagus. It may be that it is [Aristotle] who is wrong, for the scant evidence of early treason trials does perhaps suggest trial before the people: see esp. Rhodes 1979, & 1972, 199–205.

[114] The scholiast mentions only the double juries, since a court of 1000 features in Dem. 24.9.

[115] One could compare here the processes in place for private suits, in which the value of the case determined the size of the panel of jurors that heard it (so [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 53.3).

[116] Examples are amassed by Rhodes, in Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 34.

[117] Trial of Pericles—1500 (Plut. *Per.* 32.3); trial of the generals and taxiarchs in 404–2000 (Lys. 13.35, although the trial did not proceed in this form); trial of Pistias before 324–2500 (Din. 1.52).

may have been common throughout the fourth century, and indeed throughout the history of court hearings of treason trials. The reason why Philochorus mentioned the smallest jury to judge a public case, a thousand-strong panel, may be revealed by the context in which the *Lex. Cantab.* cites his authority. The impression given by the *Lex. Cantab.* entry is that Philochorus' information on juries relates to a specific type of impeachment, namely prosecutions brought against sycophants. The lexicon's full entry on *eisangelia* has defined the types of cases (particularly those involving treason against the state) for which this procedure is appropriate, and has then noted a tendency of some orators to use *eisangeliai* for lesser offences (*ta mê megala adikêmata*); it is at this point that the lexicon, describing impeachments against sycophants, introduces the citation of Philochorus with its reference to the thousand-strong jury. The implication is surely that Philochorus was describing trials brought on trumped up, possibly trivial, pretexts by those who sought to profit, through blackmail or payment, by bringing such cases to court. The fourth century Attic orator, Hyperides, certainly claimed that *eisangeliai* had become common, and that professional prosecutors were commonly using the impeachment procedure for trivial offences; this impression of escalating misuse of the procedure is confirmed by the fact that, around 330, *eisangelia* proceedings lost their former exemption from the fine which applied to prosecutors who failed to secure one-fifth of the jury's votes (other public charges had long carried such a fine to discourage frivolous prosecutions).[118] The kind of prosecution launched by sycophants provides a context in which the empanelment of the smallest possible jury—a double heliastic panel —would have been entirely justified, and Philochorus, writing in the following century, might very well have been describing this widespread practice. Whether the context of the figure offered by Demetrius of Phalerum was the same is impossible to determine. What is clear is that there are no clear grounds for supposing that Demetrius effected any change on the way in which this important type of prosecution, that of *eisangelia*, was heard by the courts.

The weight of evidence amassed thus far indicates that the court system may have shared the fate of the assembly in Demetrius' Athens. We have no traces of any actual interference by Demetrius in the formal competences or mechanisms of the popular courts, just as there

[118] Poll. 8.52–53.

was no evidence of any significant restriction of the assembly's formal powers or procedures. But again, we might draw a distinction between the forms and the reality. The courts, like the assembly, may well have been compromised in practice by Cassander's hegemony. We can catch glimpses of that subordination in the workings of the assembly, but for the courts even glimpses are largely denied us. The sources are silent on individual prosecutions under Demetrius, and the only allusions to court activity are indirect and inconclusive; so meagre is the evidence, indeed, that the absence from the plays of Menander of an interest in litigation has been pressed into service as a potential indicator of the decline of the courts.[119] Potentially more revealing is the career of the logographer Dinarchus who, we are informed, prospered during this period (Dion. Hal. *De Din.* 2.4–5). But how are we to interpret this claim? A speech-writer's prosperity may indicate a vibrant culture of litigation; on the other hand, the fact that Dinarchus was among those impeached in 307/6 for overthrowing the democracy may suggest that his court activity was closely associated with the interests of Demetrius. It would be helpful to know if Dinarchus' complicity with the regime was real, or simply a perceived connection encouraged by his study under Theophrastus and Demetrius at the Lyceum (on which connection, see Dion. Hal. *Din.* 2.2 & [Plut.] *Mor.* 850b–c = Demetr. 9A & B SOD).[120] One item in the list of speech titles ascribed to Dinarchus may offer a clue. Dinarchus is said to have composed a speech for an *eisangelia* prosecution against Himeraeus; this

[119] So Gagarin 2000, 359–61 (with reservations).

[120] On the life of Dinarchus in general, see Worthington 1992, esp. 3–12. The fate of the comic poet Menander provides a parallel, but unfortunately affords little added insight. Like Dinarchus, Menander was prosecuted in 307/6 (Diog. Laert. 5.79), presumably because of some perceived connection with the disgraced regime; his too was a connection that may have stemmed simply from a joint association with the Peripatos, and not from any more direct political engagement with the regime.

Diogenes' record of Menander's trial itself raises some interesting problems of identification. He reveals that Menander was defended by one Telesphorus, described by Diogenes as a relation (*anepsios*) of Demetrius. Is this Telesphorus to be identified with the famed Antigonid commander (on whom, see below 264ff), and does Diogenes mean him to be related to Poliorcetes or to the Phalerean, since both Demetrii are mentioned in Diogenes' preceding sentence? Both Potter 1987, and Billows 1990, appendix III *s.v.* Telesphorus, equate the Antigonid general and the defender of Menander, but whilst Potter concludes that Telesphorus was the nephew of Demetrius of Phalerum (his father thus being Demetrius' brother, Himeraeus), Billows (likewise Davies 1971, no. 3455) decides that he was the cousin of Poliorcetes, the son of an otherwise unknown brother of Antigonus Monophthalmus. The latter is, from a political perspective, more plausible.

may have been a political pamphlet constructed in the form a prosecution speech against Demetrius of Phalerum's own brother, Himeraeus, whose political allegiances stood in marked contrast to Demetrius' and who lost his life to Antipater in the 322 oligarchic settlement of Athens. Since such a document would have been *apologia* for an incident used against Demetrius by his political adversaries,[121] Dinarchus' involvement would betoken complicity with Demetrius' regime, and hint that his prosperity under Demetrius and subsequent impeachment in 307/6 are politically significant.

One other item may be of tangential benefit in assessing the freedom of Demetrian courts. Quintilian, in his *Institutio Oratoria* of the first century A.D., reports a view that may indicate that the composition of fake forensic speeches began under Demetrius of Phalerum. So *Instit. Orat.* 2.4.41 = Demetr. 126 SOD:

> For it is generally accepted that (the method of) speaking on fictitious subjects to simulate the courtroom and the political assembly (*fictas ad imitationem fori consiliorumque materias)*, was introduced among the Greeks around the time of Demetrius of Phalerum.

The claim is not historically justified (the famous speeches against Socrates by Polycrates and Lysias were only *in the form* of judicial speeches, and both clearly pre-date Demetrius' regime),[122] but Quintilian's source(s) may have been correct in believing that the composition of fake speeches became prevalent at this time. The impetus for this development could conceivably have been a decline in the freedom of the courts. Orators and speech-writers, deprived of a livelihood when judicial freedom bowed to the pressures of a royal hegemon, might indeed turn to writing fake 'show piece' speeches for employment. But Quintilian's evidence cannot be pressed too far. His central concern is with the training of orators, and it is in the context of rhetorical instruction that he makes the comment quoted above. The writing of fake forensic and deliberative speeches *as training exercises* within the rhetorical schools may not have any significant implications for the practice of Athens' logographers in their 'real world'.

[121] On the death of Himeraeus as a political weapon against Demetrius, see 211–12. On the date and form of Dinarchus' speech, see also 73–75.

[122] Their fictitious nature was not always appreciated in antiquity. On Polycrates, Quint. *Instit. Orat.* 2.17.4, Themistius *Orat.* 23; on Lysias, Cic. *De Orat.* 1.54.231, Diog Laert. 2.40.

The alleged emergence of speeches *fictas ad imitationem fori consiliorumque*, and the success of Dinarchus, are slim foundations upon which to build a picture of the true workings of the popular courts. Nonetheless, both encourage the same conclusion: that the activity of the courts was informed by the interests of Demetrius and of his Macedonian overlord. The very fact of Macedonian hegemony and the imposition of an *epimelêtês* will have altered the political dynamic in Athens in some fundamental ways, one of which will have been a reduction in the incentive for political competition between orators in the courts: political favour was now to be sought more from the Macedonian élite than from the Athenian *dêmos*. We might expect, on that basis, a fall in the numbers of public cases, such as those for *eisangelia* (or indeed *graphai paranomôn*), coming before the courts, and evidence for just such a decline has indeed been isolated by Gagarin in his consideration of Dinarchus' *oeuvre*: the majority of Dinarchus' public cases would seem, from the identity of the men for or against whom they were written, to belong prior to 317.[123] This decline in the courts as forums for political contest (as distinct from private litigation, which could well have continued unabated) was affected without recourse to legislated restriction of the competences of the courts, but the decline may have been all the more insidious for its subtlety.

3.5 *The Areopagus*

The status of the Areopagus council is fundamental to any evaluation of Demetrius' programme. In the political thought of the fourth century, it was, in many ways, the most ideologically charged body of Athenian government. The rise of democracy in the fifth century had been linked closely with Ephialtes' diminution of the Areopagus in 462/61 (thus [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 25.2), and dissatisfaction with contemporary affairs in the fourth century had come sometimes to be expressed through a desire to return to the Areopagus some of its supposed ancestral competences. The most famous expression of this kind of pro-Areopagite view is in the *Areopagitikos* of Isocrates, but it was not unique: scholars have traced a whole movement of Areopagite propaganda in the fourth century (and possibly back into the late fifth

[123] Gagarin 2000, 358–59.

century), and it is closely allied with the catch-cry of the reinstatement of the 'ancestral constitution', or *patrios politeia* advocated in some Athenian circles.[124] Proponents of a restoration of Areopagite powers or a reinstatement of the *patrios politeia* ran the risk of being labelled oligarchs. So the speaker of the *Areopagitikos* (7.57) prefaces his suggestions with an acknowledgement that his audience may charge him with oligarchic sympathies, and Antipater, imposing an oligarchic regime on Athens in 322, proclaimed a restitution of the ancestral constitution.[125] This association of oligarchic leanings with a desire to restore the Areopagus to a position of political eminence has encouraged many to suppose that Demetrius of Phalerum reformed the Areopagus as part of an oligarchic reshaping of Athens.[126]

Once again, confirmatory evidence is sadly lacking. Some of the items on which the supposed enhancement of Areopagite prestige is founded have already been discussed and found wanting. The supposed extension of the Areopagus' influence into the realm of the ephebic corps is a case in point. So too, indirectly, is the putative replacement of sortition with election for magistrates. Alteration to the method of selecting archons could have served to enhance the authority of the Areopagus, since election might have secured the appointment of more politically able men whose skills would make the Areopagus a more esteemed and more active institution upon their entry into it at the end of their year in office.[127] Given the grave doubts surrounding the change in the archon selection, any consequent invigoration of the Areopagus by this means is suspect.[128]

Highly questionable too is any extension by Demetrius of the judicial competence of the Areopagus, although this has been canvassed.[129] It is quite true that, in the late fourth century, the Areopagus appears

---

[124] See especially the thorough analysis in Part II ('The Areopagus in ideology and politics, 411 to 307') of Wallace 1989.

[125] Plut. *Phoc.* 27.3.

[126] So, for example, Ferguson 1911a, 46; Williams 1997, 340–41; similarly Jaeger 1940, 449. Wallace 1989, 204–6 is cautious, but does incline towards an expansion of Areopagite influence under Demetrius.

[127] One might compare the reverse situation in the fifth century, when the apparent decline in the status of the archons, and by extension of the Areopagus, followed the introduction of sortition for archons ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 22.5).

[128] Gehrke 1978, 152–53 believes that Demetrius' *nomophulakes* became Areopagites, and that the Areopagus was thus enhanced. To this one might note the objections of Wallace 1989, 203.

[129] De Bruyn 1995, 170–71 treats these issues.

to have been involved in five cases against individuals, all of them philosophers. Menedemus and Asclepiades were questioned over their livelihoods (Athen. 168a), while the other three cases hinged on matters of impiety: these are the cases against Theophrastus (Diog. Laert. 5.37; Aelian, *V.H.* 8.12), Theodorus (Diog. Laert. 2.101; Athen. 611a; Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 127ff) and Stilpo of Megara (Diog. Laert. 2.116). None of these furnishes evidence for any enhancement by Demetrius of Areopagite powers, and still less of any concomitant reduction in the judicial powers of the courts, by which such cases ought to have been heard. One objection is chronological: three of the five cases probably pre-date Demetrius' rise to power. Those of the philosophers Menedemus and Asclepiades (Athen. 168a) have been discussed in another context (100–101) and assigned to a time well before Demetrius' regime; the impiety allegation raised against Demetrius' close friend and Peripatetic colleague, Theophrastus, is best located during the brief democratic period of 318, as I argue in a subsequent chapter (see 209–210). These prior instances of Areopagite investigation invalidate any attempt to draw conclusions about changes wrought by Demetrius from the remaining two prosecutions, against Stilpo and Theodorus, which may well belong to the period of Demetrius' rule.

A second, and still more cogent objection is that all five cases seem not to betoken any new judicial competence of the Areopagus at all, and may rather be examples of powers which the Areopagus had acquired already by the mid-fourth century. This council had, indeed, enjoyed a marked renaissance in authority and prestige during the second half of the fourth century, although the exact nature and scope of some of the Areopagus' newly acquired powers are disputed. In a speech written for the prosecution of Demosthenes in 324/23, Dinarchus claims very wide-ranging interests for the Areopagus: at 1.6 he casts the Areopagus as competent to pass judgement over life and death, and to banish or execute any who break the law, while at 1.62 he asserts that it now exercised the power over all Athenians to enforce the ancestral laws (*patrioi nomoi*) and to punish transgressors.[130] These are sweeping claims, and their implication that the Areopagus had in fact, by the mid-320s, acquired an

[130] Compare also Din. 1.50, with the commentary of Worthington 1992 on both passages.

almost unlimited judicial competence is possibly exaggerated; on a minimalist interpretation, Dinarchus may even be alluding—albeit in a rather elliptical fashion encouraged by the political context of the speech—only to the Areopagus' other newly-acquired right to make *apophaseis* (which he details at 1.50–51)[131] Not technically a judicial power, *apophasis* allowed the Areopagus, on instruction from the assembly or on its own initiative, to conduct an initial investigation of a matter, and make a report of its findings (the *apophasis* proper) to the assembly;[132] acting on the verdict of guilt or innocence reached by the Areopagus, the assembly might send

---

[131] Interpretation of the powers alluded to by Dinarchus varies greatly, from those (such as Hansen 1991, 291–92) who see in Din. 1.62–63 evidence that the Areopagus had acquired the right to judge every breach of the laws, to those (such as Wallace 1989, 113–19 cf. 2000, 581–95), who would view *apophasis* alone, and not a properly judicial power, as the basis of the Areopagus' activity. Rhodes 1995, 313 adopts a measured approach, one that distinguishes *apophasis* and some new judicial competence but acknowledges our ignorance of the scope of that latter judicial function; these augmentations of the Areopagus' power will have occurred perhaps by 345 (for *apophasis*), with the judicial powers acquired probably in the immediate aftermath of Chaeronea (thus Rhodes 1995, 313–14). Dinarchus' claims about the Areopagus' powers do need to be treated with caution: consideration of their political context does make some hyperbole likely. The trial of Demosthenes had been precipitated by an *apophasis* from the Areopagus; prior to the trial hearing, Demosthenes engaged in a slander campaign to discredit that body, and Dinarchus, needing the jury to accept the Areopagus' findings, responded by emphasizing the majesty of that council and Demosthenes' own former connections with it. His claims are thus quite possibly exaggerated. For the purpose of evaluating the cases of Areopagite activity in the Phalerean period, however, the debate is largely irrelevant: even the minimalist position (which allows to the Areopagus only the power to make *apophaseis*, and not any true judicial power in its own right) is sufficient to explain the Areopagus' investigations of the philosophers in the closing decades of the fourth century.

[132] De Bruyn 1995, 117–19 is (to my knowledge) alone in dating the introduction of *apophasis* to the mid-fifth, rather than mid-fourth century. In terms of their scope, *apophaseis* seem particularly connected with issues of treason, the kinds of cases that might end up in the courts as *eisangelia* proceedings. (A connection between *apophasis* and *eisangelia* was urged at one time by Hansen 1975, 39, 52–54; Carawan 1985, 118ff also sees *apophasis* and *eisangelia* as connected, with fourth century *apophasis* introduced on the understanding that the Solonian Areopagus was competent to try tyranny cases and conduct scrutinies of magistrates). A connection with *eisangelia* would, in itself, give the Areopagus through its *apophaseis* an entrée into a wide range of issues (one need only think of how broadly *eisangelia* itself could be applied, according to Hyp. 3.2–3). But *apophasis* need not have been restricted even to the kinds of issues considered as treason, as De Bruyn 1995, 119 has already argued. No source explicitly limits *apophasis* thus, and a survey of attested Areopagite reports is indicative of a broader range, one not confined even to judicial matters (note, in particular, the Areopagus' report on development plans for the Pnyx: so Aesch. 1.81–84).

the matter to a popular court for trial and sentencing.[133] The most celebrated use of this process is that which occasioned the prosecution of Demosthenes in 324/23 (and it is this prosecution that provides the context for Dinarchus' speech against Demosthenes, cited above): the Areopagus had been asked at that time to investigate accusations against several Athenian politicians concerning the alleged receipt of bribes from Alexander's former confidante and treasurer, Harpalus, who had fled to Athens seeking refuge from his former master. It was a highly charged issue, with the Athenians torn between a desire to use Harpalus' money to fund a rebellion against Alexander and the wish to avoid giving Alexander himself a pretext for launching hostilities. The allegations were thus serious enough to merit consideration as treason. After due deliberation, the Areopagus published the findings of its enquiries (its *apophaseis*), and Demosthenes and a number of others were made to stand trial before the popular courts.

These augmented Areopagite powers of the mid-fourth century, whether acquired through *apophasis* alone or through a broadening of actual judicial competence, are sufficient to explain the involvement of this council in the investigations that it undertook in the years just prior to, and during, Demetrius' rule. The kinds of charges raised in the cases of the late fourth century, with their focus on the livelihoods of individuals and on issues of impiety, are quite consistent with Dinarchus' revelation that by 324/23 the Areopagus was competent to enforce the ancestral laws, since just such issues were deemed to be the Areopagus' ancestral concern.[134] Moreover, the instances of

---

133 The Areopagus itself seems to have recommended the penalty when delivering a damning report: so MacDowell 1978, 190. Dinarchus lists *apophaseis* against individual Areopagites, in which the Areopagus is stated to have imposed fines that were subsequently overturned by the assembly (1.56–57).

134 Fourth-century tradition assigned investigations of idleness and piety to the ancestral Areopagus. On the Areopagus' religious concerns, compare [Dem.] 59.79 and Wallace 1989, 111 on the increasing Areopagite supervision of religious matters in the fourth century. For the early association of the Areopagus with idleness laws, we have the testimony of Philochorus and Phanodemus, cited by Athen. 168a; also Plut. *Sol.* 22.3.

It is in fact possible that the Areopagus' acquisitions in the mid-fourth century that themselves shaped some of the tradition concerning the Areopagus' old (pre-462/61) competences. Jacoby notes, for example, in his commentary on *FGrHist.* 328 F196, that it is in the works of the mid-fourth century (and later) that the early Areopagus is first credited with jurisdiction over the *graphê argias*. It may be significant that Phanodemus and Philochorus, but not the earlier Androtion, are the Attidographers

Areopagite activity in the late fourth century need not even be judicial cases at all. The pre-317 Areopagite investigations of Menedemus, Asclepiades and Theophrastus could all have been conducted, indeed, as *apophaseis*. The tradition on Theophrastus' investigation is particularly suggestive of such a procedure for we find present both required elements, namely the Areopagus (so Aelian *V.H.* 8.12, where it is claimed that he fell uncharacteristically silent before that body), and also a dikasterial process (Diog. Laert. 5.37 names an individual prosecutor, and further notes that the prosecutor himself narrowly escaped conviction, surely meaning that he almost failed to secure a fifth of the votes of a heliastic jury).

Apophasis could similarly be the process at work in the cases of Theodorus and Stilpo. Stilpo is said simply to have been "summoned before the Areopagus" (*eis Areion pagon prosklêthenta*: Diog. Laert. 2.116), while Theodorus avoided being "brought before the Areopagus" (*eis Areion anachthênai pagon*); that terminology is appropriate for an Areopagite investigation as much as for a technical prosecution. True, most of the sources for the cases of Theodorus and Stilpo give the impression that the Areopagus itself pronounced judgement on these two philosophers (and found both guilty, although the alleged fate of Theodorus varies wildly).[135] Such Areopagite judgements *per se* are technically incompatible with *apophaseis* in which the Areopagus did not deliver a final verdict, and may indicate rather a judicial capacity. But we cannot set much store by our sources here. In Theodorus' case, the highly confused tradition casts doubt over the affair, in particular the authenticity of any verdict.[136] Further, it cannot be established beyond doubt that

quoted for this early power (Athen. 168a); most other quotations from Philochorus concerning the Areopagus include quotations from Androtion (see esp. *FGrHist.* 328 FF3, 4, 20). Other concerns ascribed to the pre-Ephialtes Areopagus by fourth-century writers may similarly be coloured by fourth-century political experience.

[135] The alleged sentence ranges from death—a version which may be dismissed, since Theodorus survived into the third century—to expulsion from Athens; Diogenes Laertius covers all possibilities, claiming first that the intervention of Demetrius of Phalerum prevented Theodorus from being brought before the Areopagus at all, but going on to cite Amphicrates to the effect that Theodorus was condemned to drink hemlock, and implying in the following section (2.102) that he was, in fact, expelled.

[136] See Winiarcyzk 1981, 67–68 and Derenne 1930, 212 for contrasting solutions to the source conflict. The fabrication of details of prosecutions against philosophers, particularly by third-century biographers, is well known. A similar plethora of accounts exists for the trial of Anaxagoras in the fifth century, for example, causing

any sentences against Theodorus or Stilpo were truly judgements *by* the Areopagus and not rather judgements *recommended* by the Areopagus. In other, better documented cases, Areopagite *apophaseis* are represented as actual sentences, and not as mere reports which prompted popular trials and sentencing. When describing the prosecutions following the 'Harpalus affair' in 324, [Plutarch] (*Mor.* 846c) could claim that the politicians Hyperides, Pytheas, Menesaechmus, Himeraeus and Patrocles gained the conviction of Demosthenes by the Areopagus council; more correctly, the Areopagus had delivered a damning report against Demosthenes through the *apophasis* procedure, but the public prosecutors listed by [Plutarch] technically secured his condemnation before a popular court. Likewise Dinarchus (1.63) somewhat blurs the distinction between punishments voted by the assembly and those imposed by the Areopagus itself, when he includes, in a catalogue of examples meant to illustrate the punitive powers of the Areopagus, the case of Antiphon: the death sentence passed against him (for an alleged plan to burn the Athenian docks on behalf of Philip of Macedon) was technically delivered by the assembly.[137] The alleged verdicts against Theodorus and Stilpo, therefore, may have been delivered by popular juries after a condemnatory report from the Areopagus, with the sources inaccurately casting this process as condemnation by the Areopagus itself. On that basis, there is no need to posit any subsequent extension by Demetrius of the Areopagus' powers beyond the authority it had already acquired in the Lycurgan period, nor any need to posit a reduction in the competence of the courts.

Far from enhancing the Areopagus' *potestas*, in fact, Demetrius may rather have taken steps to check the accretion of powers made already in the mid- and late fourth century. His *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* are the key issue here, for both sets of officials bore some relationship to the Areopagus. A relationship is explicitly claimed for the *gunaikonomoi* by Philochorus (*FGrHist.* 328 F65 = Demetr. 153 SOD), who states that the controllers of women scrutinised gatherings in private houses "with the Areopagites" (*meta tôn*

many (including Dover 1976) to question whether Anaxagoras ever actually faced a court.

[137] Dinarchus does in fact allude to the participation of the assembly, but uses the case to demonstrate the judicial powers he has described at 1.62–63.

Areopagitôn); the connection of the law-guardians is less direct, and depends on the evolution of these officials' *nomophulakia* out of a similar guardianship thought to have been exercised by the Areopagus until the reforms of the mid-fifth century. At first glance, both might seem to betoken an augmentation of the Areopagus' influence, but consideration of the development of the Areopagus' power in the mid-fourth century urges a rather different conclusion. *Apophasis*, together with any augmented judicial competence, had given the Areopagus an instrument through which it could become involved in a wide range of cases, adding much to its prestige and its political authority; and while the new powers may have fallen short of a full-scale recreation of those unlimited powers of judgement and punishment that some fourth-century writers believed to have been wielded by the Areopagus before Ephialtes' reforms, they nonetheless constituted a definite step in the direction of the Areopagus' former power of *nomophulakia*. The resonances between Dinarchus' description of the authority of the contemporary Areopagus and the description, in the [Aristotelian] *Athênaiôn Politeia*, of the *nomophulakia* exercised by that council before 462/61 are particularly striking, and the investigations undertaken by the Areopagus in such realms as idleness (with Menedemus and Asclepiades), impiety (Theophrastus, Stilpo and Theodorus), and even treason (during the 'Harpalus affair') show that this council was moving to resume an authority in areas claimed by tradition as its early preserve. This reclamation of former territory was, in fact, quite extensive. A decree from 352/51 gives the Areopagus the foremost place on a list of those responsible for the maintenance of all Athenian sanctuaries (so *IG* ii^2 204, ll.16ff), a clear reflection of that council's traditional concern for, and authority over, matters religious.

Viewed in the light of this prior reinvigoration of the Areopagus, Demetrius' impact on that council begins to look rather different. His creation of *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* may well have impinged on the prerogatives so recently reclaimed by the Areopagus. The new boards of officials were active in areas which, in fourth-century thought at least, were the province of the Areopagus in earlier times, and areas in which the Areopagus had become active prior to the Phalerean period. This may indicate that the Areopagus' recent expansion of *auctoritas* was being moderated by Demetrius' introduction of his officials. Under Demetrius, too, the Areopagus was not to enjoy sole

authority for his new laws on burials and feasts even though, as De Bruyn observes, these laws betray an interest in orderly behaviour (with an emphasis on religious conduct) entirely consistent with the kinds of concerns traditionally associated with the Areopagus.[138] While recognising the Areopagus' claim to ancestral supervision of citizens' behaviour, Demetrius introduced *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* to enforce his new laws in the first instance.[139]

One should not be overly schematic here. Demetrius' handling of the Areopagus can be explained as neither a straightforward extension nor diminution of its competence. The Areopagus' powers were not actively rescinded: the kinds of investigation into religious impropriety undertaken before 317 (as exemplified in the case of Theophrastus) continued afterwards, as evidenced by the investigations of Theodorus and Stilpo. Yet while not stripping the Areopagus of its recently re-acquired interests, the new officials may at least have been compromising the independence of that council and curbing its influence. The naming of Demetrius' *nomophulakes* is evocative here. Their fifth-century counterparts were located by Philochorus (*FGrHist.* 328 F64) in the context of the reduction of Areopagite power by Ephialtes, and cast as the inheritors of some aspects of the Areopagus' original *nomophulakia*; as such, the fifth-century *nomophulakes* were a step towards the democratisation of the Athenian state, a process which reached its fulfilment when the duties they performed (scrutiny of magistrates, monitoring of assembly business) were devolved upon the assembly, the courts and the *boulê*.[140] Demetrius' *nomophulakes* similarly were taking on aspects of guardianship that the Areopagus was keen to claim as its own, and might to that extent be regarded as diminishing the Areopagus' power.

While the precise interplay between Areopagus and officials remains intangible, it is nonetheless clear that the common assumption that

---

138 De Bruyn 1995, 174.

139 It is a pity that Philochorus gives no detail of how the joint policing by *gunaikonomoi* and Areopagus was to work. That the *gunaikonomoi* were the 'front line' in the application of the laws is, however, implied by the references to their work by the comic poets Timocles, Menander and Lynceus, cited above, 67.

140 From a fourth-century perspective, the Philochoran *nomophulakes* might seem more properly oligarchic than democratic (compare Arist. *Pol.* 1298b, 1323a); but such a board would—if annually elected, as often supposed—be more democratic than the fifth-century Areopagus. Elis had a comparable board of *thesmophulakes*, and was yet a democracy (so Gomme *et al.* 1970, 60). For discussion of the democratic quality of *nomophulakes*, see further Scascia 1965, 633–46.

Demetrius restored the Areopagus to its full powers according to an Isocratean model is unfounded. Demetrius' laws covered the kinds of concerns with which the fourth-century writers associated the Areopagus, but this revitalisation of concern for lawful and orderly behaviour was effected through the creation of new magistracies, not by a simple restitution of Areopagite powers.

Demetrius' handling of the Areopagus perhaps highlights some contradictions in late fourth-century attitudes to that body. The modern assumption that Demetrius restored the Areopagus to its old glory is predicated upon the beliefs that oligarchic ideology encouraged the heightening of Areopagite powers, and that Demetrius' supposed oligarchic tendencies would have rendered him sympathetic to this view. The situation in the fourth century appears to have been more complex. Certainly, the Areopagus of that time could be discredited by charges of its oligarchic or conservative character, and there are, moreover, indications that the accretion of authority by the Areopagus had prompted backlashes. After the Athenians' defeat by Macedon at Chaeronea in 338, the Areopagus had arrested and summarily executed those accused of fleeing Attica; the hostility generated against the Areopagus by this authoritarian act is evident in a speech delivered in 330 by Lycurgus (1.52–53), in which he anticipates jeers from the audience at his mention of the Areopagus.[141]

A distinction must be drawn, however, between any supposed 'oligarchic' nature of the Areopagus, and its stance in Athenian foreign policy. Areopagite activity prior to 317, after all, exhibits a pronounced anti-Macedonian emphasis.[142] Demosthenes made great use of the Areopagus against suspected collaborators with Macedon; his cases included actions against Antiphon (accused of plotting to burn the Athenian docks for Philip of Macedon), against the general, Proxenus (for military procrastination), and against Charinus (for treason).[143] In the period before 322, the Areopagus had taken other extraordinary actions of an anti-Macedonian

141 On the executions, see also Aesch. 3.252.

142 A pattern of anti-Macedonian behaviour by the Areopagus is well remarked upon in the literature. Compare, for example, Engels 1988, esp. 189ff.

143 This Areopagite activity is listed by Dinarchus in his speech against Demosthenes (1.63ff). On Antiphon, see also Dem. 18.134–36; Plut. *Demos.* 14.5. For Proxenus, who may be the descendant of Harmodius alluded to by Dinarchus, compare Dem. 19.210–11, with associated scholia. For Charinus, [Dem.] 58.38. On these see further Worthington 1992, 227–28.

nature: besides the executions after Chaeronea mentioned above, the Areopagus in ca. 343 replaced Aeschines with Hyperides as delegate to the Amphictyonic council, after the assembly had entrusted to it a review of the original appointment;[144] this is believed to have been a response to the suspicion, held by some Athenians, that Aeschines was sympathetic to Macedon. The general tenor of Areopagite intervention in the Lycurgan period is thus markedly anti-Macedonian.[145] Nor is this tendency confined to the Lycurgan era: it is argued below that the *apophasis* against Demetrius' close associate, Theophrastus, represents a revival of this active anti-Macedonian policy under the restored democracy in 318.[146] There is even evidence that the Areopagus continued in its hostility to the Macedonian-backed regimes into the Phalerean regime itself, if its investigation of Theodorus is, as argued below (213), an attack on Demetrius' associates (certainly, Demetrius was moved to intervene to protect Theodorus from Areopagite investigation).

---

[144] Dem. 18.134–36, [Plut.] Mor. 850a; Hyp. FF71–79 Sauppe.

[145] Mention must be made of two possible exceptions; neither, however, furnishes compelling evidence of a less anti-Macedonian stance by the Areopagus. Firstly, the Areopagus did replace the elected general, Charidemus, with Phocion after Chaeronea (Plut. *Phoc.* 16.4). Phocion was more willing than Charidemus to reach a peace agreement with Philip; he had, on the other hand, demonstrated his ability in the field against Macedonian interests in the 340s, and his appointment by the Areopagus reflects the fact that Phocion was uniquely able to fight or to negotiate, as circumstances dictated. See too Wallace 1989, 181 and Sealey 1958, 72, against reading this appointment as an act of submission to Macedon.

Second and more controversial is the law of Eucrates (*RO* 79, of 337/36), which set out punishments for Areopagites collaborating in the overthrow of the democracy. This is unlikely to be any simple reflection of fears about pro-Macedonian tendencies in the Areopagus. Sealey 1958, 71–73 sees Eucrates' law rather as a corrective reaction against an assumption by the Areopagus of emergency powers in the wake of Chaeronea (such emergency powers are argued for by Carawan 1985, 130; for a contrary view, compare Wallace 1989, 179–84). Schwenk 1985, 40–41 does not see the law as evidence at all of pro-Macedonian feeling in the Areopagus, nor indeed of significant qualms among the Athenians about the Areopagus' recent behaviour: "rather than an attack on the council, the law of Eucrates gives tacit acceptance of its new responsibilities [the legal powers mentioned at Din. 1.6, 62–63] and acknowledges the need to revive the laws accordingly. The purpose of this law is to *prevent* the council or any of its members from giving (or being forced to give) legal sanction in case of tyranny"; with her verdict may be compared that of Engels 1988. At the time the decree itself was passed, Athens' democracy had been enshrined by the terms of Philip's League of Corinth; it is credible nonetheless that there may have been ongoing fears for an overthrow of the democracy. Chaeronea, with its resounding defeat of the Athenian forces, was still recent, and it was in the aftermaths of similar defeats that Athens had, in the past, found her democratic constitution subverted.

[146] On the case as an *apophasis*, above 152–53.

To be sure, anti-Macedonian leanings in the second half of the fourth century are hardly surprising: the city had, after all, endured wars with Macedon and it is to be expected that Athenian institutions would express hostility toward the foe. What is noteworthy, however, is the close connection between the Areopagus' anti-Macedonian activities and its own increasing *auctoritas* and *potestas*. Throughout the fifth and early fourth centuries, the Areopagus had not been a key player in Athenian politics; from the mid-fourth century, it began to reclaim a vital rôle. The platform on which it exercised its renewed authority was the fight with Macedon; an institution that had been relatively dormant for over a century thus became the central channel for the expression of Athenian antipathy to Macedon.

Against this political background, the assumption that Demetrius cultivated the Areopagus becomes even more suspect. It is more plausible that he curbed its expanding power, as such a move to limit Areopagite autonomy can be understood as a possible reaction to the anti-Macedonian activities of that body. From the viewpoint of Athenian foreign affairs, the curtailment of this actively anti-Macedonian body may have prompted criticism of Demetrius, but his policy could always be justified in terms of democratic ideology. The autocratic excesses of the Areopagus after Chaeronea had, as noted above, provoked a backlash against the council; any limitation of its autonomy by Demetrius could have been given a populist veneer.

The relationship between Demetrius and the Areopagus advanced here cannot, of course, be established conclusively, but the fate of the Areopagus under the restored democracy of 307/6 may be significant. There is little to indicate that its influence was diminished after 307; on the contrary, we find it continuing to investigate cases of idleness (it summoned Cleanthes and the grandson of Demetrius of Phalerum in the third century: so Diog. Laert. 7.168–69; Athen. 167e = Demetr. 7 SOD), and it is featured in a judicial capacity in late anecdotes concerning impiety offences, suggesting that it exercised powers in this realm after 307.[147] It even gained new duties, some of them linking it to the

[147] Late sources claim that Aeschylus was tried by the Areopagus (Clement *Strom.* 2.387); likewise Socrates (Justin Matyr *Cohort. Gr.* 36; Origen *Contra Celsum* 4.67, 5.21; Euseb. *Theoph.* 2.21, August. *C.D.* 12.13). Again, Euripides (Aetius *Plac.* 1.71) and Plato (Justin Matyr *Cohort. Gr.* 20, 22) are alleged to have suppressed their beliefs about the gods through fear of the Areopagus. These anecdotes are surely unhistorical (so Wallace 1989, 107–8), but may reveal something of the powers of the Areopagus in a later age.

pro-Antigonid resistance to Cassander. A panel of five Areopagites, for example, was involved in the management of funds intended for the war against Cassander (funds to which Antigonus had made substantial contributions).[148] Apparently, the Areopagus was not so implicated in Demetrius' regime that its credibility in the restored democracy was tarnished: possibly it had *not* enjoyed an elevated position under the Phalerean constitution at all.

3.6 *The Athenian institutions: a summary*

Overall, it appears that much of the democratic apparatus was left unchanged throughout the Phalerean period; there is, at any rate, no compelling evidence of significant alterations of democratic procedures indicative of an oligarchic programme. The assembly and courts appear to have retained their usual features, and the Areopagus, far from being restored to a pre-462/61 competence, may have had its newly regained powers compromised by the creation of new boards. In terms of their formal workings, the assembly, council and courts continued to operate as they had done throughout the fourth century. Any assumption that the Phalerean regime was a close counterpart of the regime of Phocion, and that there was thus significant disruption of the democratic processes, appears ill founded.[149] With its acknowledgement of the Athenians' distaste for Phocion's stance, Demetrius' own published opinion of his predecessor warns against a ready assimilation of the two regimes—if indeed the somewhat guarded verdict on Phocion quoted by Plutarch (*Dem.* 14.1–2 = Demetr. 156 SOD) does come from Demetrius of Phalerum:[150]

---

148 *IG* ii^2 1492b, on which Billows 1990, 151 with appendix 3 nos 48, 102; De Bruyn 1995, 175.

149 The fate of the *ephêbeia* (known to have been active after 317—see above, 86) may afford an example of differences between 322–318 and 317–307, since it appears to have been dismantled under the Antipatran settlement. On its status under Phocion, Mitchel 1964, esp. 343–48. Gehrke 1976, 93 n. 38 was unwilling to make any final judgement about it, although he notes the possibility that it was curtailed or suspended.

150 Fortenbaugh & Schütrumpf 2000 list among the *incerta* this fragment, in which the writer goes on to attack Demosthenes for his unreliability on the battlefield and for accepting money from Persia. The tenor of the whole fragment is certainly suggestive of Demetrius' authorship; it looks, in particular, very much like a response to some of the allegations made by Demochares against Demetrius' fellow-philosophers. (For evidence of other hostile exchanges of views between Demetrius and Demochares,

> ...Phocion, *championing a political line that did not meet with approval* and being considered favourable to Macedonia, was nevertheless held to be a man not at all inferior in any way to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon for his courage and just disposition.

The evidence simply does not support the notion of a reimposition, in 317, of the 322 oligarchy, with the concomitant restraints upon the democratic institutions. As so often, however, this conclusion must come with a caution. Demetrius ruled for ten years, and we are not entitled to assume that the politico-legal institutions and practices remained fixed over this entire period. Even at their best, our scattered and meagre sources permit only 'snapshots' of the workings of the state, fixed at a single instant; they do not allow us to chart with confidence any modifications during the decade. This is a significant handicap, for the above analyses of some institutions (notably the tribal rotation of secretaries) have hinted that there may have been changes, prompted perhaps by temporary crises such as the threatened invasion by an Antigonid general in late 313. Even if we allow for hypothetical developments during the regime, however, the overall picture remains unchanged: Demetrius of Phalerum simply does not seem to have interfered greatly with the workings of the Athenian state.

This retention of the democratic apparatus does not imply that Demetrius ought not be labelled a tyrant, his regime an oligarchy, or that those implicated with him were not guilty in some sense of overthrowing the *dêmos*; it is rather to suggest that the basis for these charges is not primarily to be found in the modification of the institutions developed by the democracy. For Demetrius' tyranny, we might look to the analogy (already drawn, 127–28) with the influence of Pericles, an influence which prompted Thucydides to describe Athens a democracy in name alone (2.65.9). This Periclean 'rule' was not dependent upon any curtailment of the established democratic mechanisms, yet Pericles' overwhelming influence prompted the comedians to draw comparisons with Zeus,[151] comparisons intended less to flatter Pericles, than to emphasise the extent to which he controlled the

see 193ff). Demochares had cast aspersions on Socrates' efficacy as a soldier, and had alleged that Aristotle 'sold' Olynthus to Philip of Macedon (see 225). Demetrius could well have retaliated with similar accusations against Demochares' uncle. For the treatment of Demosthenes by Demochares and Demetrius, see now Cooper 2009.

[151] Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 labels Pericles 'Olympian'; Plut. *Per.* 8 canvasses the motives for such epithets.

affairs of ordinary Athenians. He is even explicitly termed a tyrant by Cratinus (F258 KA).[152] This kind of critique of Pericles perhaps provides a model against which to understand judgements of Demetrius. His 'tyranny', described by Pausanias (1.25.6) and Plutarch (*Demetr.* 10.2), may have been likewise: not a tyranny imposed through the suspension of democratic institutions, but exerted through the cultivation of popular support.

Demetrius' influence was, of course, further buttressed, in a way that Pericles' had never been, by a foreign garrison in the Piraeus. This is a vital distinction. Demetrius' Athens was an occupied state, its freedom cowed by the ever-present threat from the garrison. The mere fact of military submission to Cassander's hegemony must be cast as an overthrow of democracy, particularly given that Athenian democracy had come increasingly to identify itself, in the iconography of its fourth century decrees, with resistance to Macedon.[153] Removal of garrisons was the loudest plea of the democracies restored after Phocion's regime, and again after Demetrius.[154] Freedom from Macedonian military control and democracy were closely intertwined.

Of greater moment still was the curtailment of the citizen body through the imposition of a property qualification. The association between democracy itself and the encouragement of citizen numbers is well documented in Athenian thought. Lysias, for example (20.13), claims that the democracy is destroyed not by those who increase its numbers, but by those who reduce them; notably, he uses the very terminology for the overthrow of democracy, *katalusis tou dêmou*, which figures in the formal charges levelled first against Phocion, and then against Demetrius of Phalerum. The experiences of late fifth century Athens are of great significance here. While the regimes of 411 and 404 did impose some changes upon the functioning of the council, assembly, courts and Areopagus, it is nonetheless clear that the limitation of citizenship associated with these regimes was *in itself* a fundamental

[152] Possibly also at F171 l.22 KA: see Kassel and Austin, ad loc., also Schwarze 1971, 43ff.

[153] Lawton 2003 traces the fourth-century development of the figure of *Dêmokratia*, as a personification on inscription reliefs and as the focus of cult, and links this with expressions of anti-Macedonian sentiment. A prime example is the representation of *Dêmokratia* on the relief accompanying the law of Eucrates (on which, above 157 n. 145).

[154] Diod. 18.64.1, Plut. *Demetr.* 8. Removal of the garrison was a burning issue throughout Phocion's regime: so Plut. *Phoc.* 30.4ff.

concern. It was in this period that debate arose on the use of wealth as a criterion for citizenship, rather than descent alone as the Periclean law on citizenship had stipulated (citizens were those born to citizen fathers by mothers who themselves had citizen fathers); significantly, the desire to define citizenship in terms of property was favoured by those willing to come to an accommodation with Sparta. As Davies notes in his analysis of Athenian citizenship, this move to include wealth as a qualification was rejected absolutely when the democracy was restored in 403, and the definition of citizenship as determined by descent was "ostentatiously affirmed."[155] The events of the last decade of the fifth century are thus instructive, revealing the importance of citizenship to the characterisation of a regime: Athenian democracy identified itself as a body of citizens defined by descent alone, without any consideration of wealth.[156]

Important also from the fifth-century experience is the connection between the limitation of citizenship and the subordination of democracy to an external power; the introduction of the wealth criterion in the fifth century was clearly associated with Spartan interests. In the late fourth century, the pattern was repeated, but with Sparta replaced by Macedon as the foreign master. Demetrius' acceptance of a limitation of citizenship to those in possession of one thousand drachmas was a transgression of the accepted democratic definition of an Athenian citizen; it amounted to the overthrow of the democracy, and moreover was emblematic of Athens' capitulation to Macedon. That this restriction of citizenship was a burning issue in popular thought may be indirectly attested in the plays that Menander produced under Demetrius' rule; the validation in, for example, *Dyskolos* of marriage

[155] The evidence for debates upon citizenship, including the provisions under the regime of 411 for the restriction of citizenship, is collated by Davies 1977/78, 118–19. On citizenship criteria of the fourth century, Rhodes 1993, 496ff.

[156] It is very tempting to see a fragment of Demetrius' work *Socrates* as being coloured by the controversy over the use of wealth as a determinant of citizenship. Demetrius denied, against the dominant traditions on both men, that Socrates and Aristides the Just had been poor (Plut. *Arist.* 1.1–9 = Demetr. 102 SOD). Could this have been a move implicitly to answer those making the obvious objection to a wealth qualification, namely that many potentially useful citizens could be lost to the state through such definition of citizenship? (That such objections were contemplated in the fourth century is demonstrated in Theoph. *Vat. Gr.* 2306 Fr. B col. I, ll.26–36.) This may be how we are to understand Plutarch when he claims that "clearly, Demetrius is eagerly striving to exonerate not only Aristides but Socrates too from poverty as from a great evil." Other fragments of Demetrius' *Socrates* seem to have a contemporary political undercurrent: compare below, 230–32.

between citizens regardless of their wealth may be read as an implicit critique of the new state of affairs.[157] At any rate, the return of citizenship to those qualified by descent is celebrated in the rhetoric of the restored democracy after 307/6 through their honorary decrees, in which honours are bestowed by the democracy of *all* Athenians.[158]

The hostility towards Demetrius' government and the charge of treason and oligarchy brought against his associates are thus explicable on the basis of the mass disenfranchisement that accompanied his regime.[159] But the very nature of the backlash in 307/6 itself sounds a note of moderation. In passing judgement against Demetrius and those associated with him, the restored democracy condemned to death only those who had already fled to safety; those who remained in Athens to stand trial were set free (Philoch. *FGrHist*. 328 F66 = Demetr. 31 SOD). This is a much more tolerant reaction than that shown to the partisans of Phocion in 318, who were executed (Plut. *Phoc*. 36–37). While both Antipater's settlement and the subsequent one by Cassander are described as "humane" (*philanthrôpos*) by Diodorus (18.18.6, 18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD; also Plut. *Phoc*. 27.4 for 322), it is apparent, from the very different treatments meted out to Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum, that they were not perceived as equally so. The moderation of the citizenship limitation achieved by Demetrius may have been a significant factor in this.

[157] For this interpretation see Lape 2004, with esp. 110–36 on *Dyskolos*.

[158] As observed by Osborne 1981b, 162 n. 27, referring to the decree for Callias of Sphettus (*Hesperia* Suppl. 17, ll.82–83, where the democracy is described as the democracy of all Athenians).

[159] Davies 1977/78, 120–21 (also 113–14) likewise sees citizenship as a prime cause of hostility towards the regime.

CHAPTER FOUR

FESTIVALS AND FINANCES: THE ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION OF ATHENS

In Ferguson's analysis of this period, economic management looms as an important aspect of Demetrius' governance of the city. An interest in economic affairs is consistent with developments in Athenian politics throughout the second half of the fourth century, when power came to reside increasingly with those who administered the city finances.[1] In fact, Demetrius' financial control has been viewed as analogous to that exercised earlier by Lycurgus; in consequence, the creation of the major financial office of Hellenistic Athens, that of 'treasurer for the administration' (*ho epi têi dioikêsei*), has been variously attributed to both these men.[2] Whether or not Demetrius acted under this formal title, the comments of his contemporary critics, Duris and Demochares, do attest to a general financial direction of the

[1] On the changing face of Athenian financial administration in the fourth century (in particular, the rise of individual treasurers to challenge the financial control of the council), see Faraguna 1992, esp. 171–94; Rhodes 1972, 105ff, and Mossé 1989, 27ff.

[2] On Lycurgus' rather problematic title, see Mossé 1989, 27–28; Faraguna 1992, 195–209; Rhodes 1993, 515–16; Lewis 1997, 221ff. Lycurgus' management of the city finances is well attested (see Hyp. F118; [Plut.] *Mor.* 841b cf. 852b; Dion. Hal. *Din.* 11), but the silence of the *Ath. Pol.* regarding a treasurer *epi têi dioikêsei* and the similarity of descriptions of Lycurgus' function to the language used of theoric commisioners (compare Aesch. 2.149 cf. 3.25) has complicated the issue of Lycurgus' official designation; Lewis argues, moreover, that Hyp. 3.28, which has often been taken as a reference to Lycurgus and to his tenure of a new financial post *epi têi dioikêsei* is instead a reference to Demosthenes' tenure as theoric treasurer in 337/36 (but see Whitehead 2000, 449–50 for reservations). But if *SEG* 19.119 belongs to the Lycurgan period, it may provide an indication that the post existed at this time. The dilemmas are compounded by the ambiguity of the term *dioikêsis*, which can have a general as well as official connotation. In the case of Demetrius, the explicit evidence for his position as a formal treasurer depends on Plut. *Demetr.* 8.4 (= Demetr. 29 SOD), where Demetrius is described as administering (*dioikôn*) the city on Cassander's behalf. It would be dangerous to press this for proof of Demetrius' formal assumption of the treasurership here, since Plutarch uses *dioikêsis* elsewhere in patently non-magisterial contexts: compare *Demetr.* 19.4, also Diod. 18.74.3 (= Demetr. 16A SOD) where all those who retained citizenship in 317 are described as administering (*dioikeisthai*) the city.

city by Demetrius that invites comparison with Lycurgus, or again with Eubulus.[3]

Demetrius' regime certainly did bring renewed prosperity to Athens, with Duris claiming that annual revenues amounted to twelve hundred talents (Athen. 542b = Demetr. 43A SOD) and with Demetrius himself boasting that food was plentiful and cheap (Polyb. 12.13.9–10 = Demetr. 89 SOD). This may be seen as a considerable achievement. The payment of mercenaries in the Lamian War must have drained Athenian reserves, and throughout the interim democracy of 318 the city was cut off from a prime source of revenue, the Piraeus trade, by Cassander's garrison in the port.[4] While allowing for comic exaggeration, early difficulties are implied by the fragment of a comedy by Timocles in which one speaker at a banquet complains that the 'supervisor of women' who inspects the number of guests at feasts would do better to scrutinise the houses of the dinnerless (Athen. 245b = Demetr. 153 SOD). During the regime itself, there were other impediments to prosperity. Hostility between Cassander and the Antigonids caused the loss of the islands of Delos, Imbros, Lesbos and Samos, all traditionally controlled by Athens, a loss which could have impacted adversely on the movement of Athenian merchant fleets.[5]

That economic stability was of concern to Demetrius is intrinsically plausible, and it is clear that he took pride in the prosperity Athens enjoyed under his aegis. His arch-critic, Demochares, was to complain that Demetrius "had been such a leader of his fatherland as to be proud of those points in his administration that would make a common tax-collector (*telônês banausos*) proud of himself" (Polyb. 12.13.9 = Demetr. 89 SOD). It is quite another matter to assume, as Ferguson does, that it was economic concerns which motivated much of Demetrius' legislative activity, and that he was driven by a desire to safeguard the material interests of those middle classes of which a supposed 'Aristotelian polity' was to be composed.[6] Ferguson's thesis was

---

[3] Thus Mossé 1992, 88 suggests that through his position as *epimelêtês*, Demetrius may have had assigned to him a financial control comparable to that of Eubulus and to Lycurgus.

[4] On the mercenaries, Diod. 18.9.3.

[5] Compare the later commercial significance of Delos, for example: Habicht 1997, 246ff. On the island losses, and Athenian policy responses, see below, 253ff.

[6] Ferguson 1911a, 55. In a slightly different fashion, Wiles 1984 also sees an economic interest as a motivating factor in Demetrius' reforms, which were, he argues, designed to reduce the differences between rich and poor, thereby encouraging

based largely on the interpretation of Demetrius' sumptuary laws as essentially moves to curb expenditure, but he isolated yet further elements of economic policy: one was the supposed introduction of a requirement for the formal dating and registration of wills and land contracts,[7] of which examples are furnished by *Agora* XIX H84 and *SEG* 35.136 (= Demetr. 23B & C SOD, being pillars inscribed with notifications of sale of property for the redemption of mortgages); another was the abolition of the system of liturgies, under which men of means were compelled to finance various state activities (maintaining a trireme, for example, or funding a chorus for a dramatic contest).

Some aspects of Ferguson's argument have already come under scrutiny: in chapter two, devoted to Demetrius' sumptuary laws, the economic basis of this aspect of his legislative programme has been interrogated and rejected. Moreover, the identification of legislated change behind the registration of wills and mortgage contracts was challenged by Finley, who noted the existence of many undated contracts from the period after the supposed regulation by Demetrius; Finley's suspicions have been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of a dated land contract from 319/18, well before the Phalerean period.[8] The economic interest ascribed to the reform programme as a whole thus is tenuous, and as we shall see, the evidence for an abolition of liturgies is similarly suspect, resting largely as it does on the evidence of Demetrius' tampering with one particular liturgy: the *khorêgeia*.

This is not to deny that the economic stability of Athens was an issue in which Demetrius took an interest; rather, it is simply to suggest that it was not the over-riding agenda of his legislation. Prosperity was attained through other means; the city's wealth needs to be set within the broader context of Athenian affairs, and in particular within the nexus of Athenian relations with Macedon. Demetrius' interest in the Athenian economy will here be considered afresh.

---

an Aristotelian middle ground. Gottschalk 2000, 378 also perceives behind Demetrius' social and fiscal changes an economic purpose "of preventing the dissipation of existing wealth, whether by public benefactions or private extravagance."

[7] Ferguson 1911b, 265–68 first advanced this thesis; he has been followed by Bayer 1942, 48–51, Dow & Travis 1943, 159–65 and Mossé 1992, 88.

[8] Finley 1973, 177–181 for land contracts, 27 n. 83 for wills and donations; Habicht 1997, 57 notes the pre-Phalerean contract.

4.1 *Demetrius and the* khorêgeia

The dramatic festivals of Athens are believed to have been a target of Demetrius' legislation. He is credited with the introduction of a new official, the *agônothetês*, whose appearance is coupled with a change to the festival liturgy, the *khorêgeia*.[9] Where once dedicatory inscriptions celebrating dramatic and choral victories at the Dionysia and Lenaea recorded the name of individual *khorêgoi*, who had undertaken the cost of the winning production, a new formula appears, in which the name of an individual *agônothetês* is coupled with the statement that the Athenian people acted as *khorêgos*. Thus comparison may be made between an inscription typical of the pre-Phalerean democracy (*IG* ii^2 3056, from 320/19)—"Thrasyllus son of Thrasyllus having been victorious as *khorêgos* set up [this monument]"—and the first record from the post-Phalerean democracy (*IG* ii^2 3073, of 307/6)—"in the archonship of Anaxicrates the *dêmos* was *khorêgos*, Xenocles (or possibly Androcles)[10] son of Xeinius of Sphettus the *agônothetês.*"

The introduction of the *agônothetês*, whose activities (at least initially) were confined to festivals involving dramatic or dithyrambic competitions such as the Dionysia and Lenaea,[11] marks the disappearance of the individual *khorêgos*, and the assertion that the *dêmos* functioned as *khorêgos* must surely indicate that funding for dramatic productions now came from a public purse; the appearance of the new official thus signals the abolition of the khorêgic liturgy. This may have been motivated in part by financial considerations. The burden imposed on wealthy individuals involved in the funding of festivals had certainly been a source of complaint,[12] and the number of individuals able to undertake such outlays may have been diminishing, with the result that the liturgy system may have been becoming increasingly unwork-

---

[9] So Köhler 1878, esp. 240 and (to my knowledge) universally accepted: thus Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 91–92; Bayer 1942, 69–71; Gehrke 1978, 171–73; Rhodes 1993, 623.

[10] For Androcles see Lambert 2000–2003. If Androcles' name is to be restored in *IG* ii^2 3073, then he and his brother Xenocles may have acted jointly as *agônothetai* in 307/6, for Xenocles' name appears on *IG* ii^2 3077; Androcles will have overseen the dramatic contests (for these are celebrated on *IG* ii^2 3073), and Xenocles the dithyrambic.

[11] Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 92 n. 6.

[12] Gehrke 1978, 172 n. 123 catalogues complaints made by the rich against this liturgy. Habicht 1997, 56–57 thus views Demetrius' reform as relief for the moneyed classes.

able; Demosthenes' arguments (20.23) for the appointment of groups rather than individuals to finance liturgic expenses, would certainly suggest this much.[13]

Yet the view that the *agônothesia* was primarily a response to economic considerations is a problematic one. While the *agônothetês*, with his public purse, did replace the *khorêgos*, and while he did not assume all the functions performed by other festival officials (the archon and his traditional assistants, the *paredroi* and *epimelêtai*, continued to be involved in the organisation of the processions and in the sacrifices),[14] nevertheless it is not to be assumed that the *agônothetês* was simply a public official equivalent to the former *khorêgos*. Several passages imply a distinction between the two terms. In Stobaeus' discussion of the burdens faced by an adult citizen at 4.34.72, a discussion taken via Teles from the work of Demetrius' contemporary, the cynic Crates, the terms appear side by side: as well as being a soldier, a politician, and an envoy, a citizen can be called upon to act as *khorêgos* and *agônothetês*.[15] Then there is Plutarch's *Phocion* 31.1, where it is recorded that in 319 the Macedonian garrison commander, Nicanor, acted as *agônothetês*; no details are given of Nicanor's activities, but he did not supersede the Athenian *khorêgoi* since they are documented in this very year (*IG* ii^2 3056 and 3055). Nicanor's *agônothesia* is hardly to be taken as an official post,[16] but the usage shows that the term was not strictly an equivalent for *khorêgos*. A more general responsibility for the organisation of the festival may have fallen to the new official.[17] These indications problematise a simple correlation of *agônothetês* and *khorêgos* and warn against a purely financial understanding of the reform.

There are other causes for scepticism about any underlying economic impetus behind the reform. The holders of this office in the third century at least could contribute significant sums from their own

---

[13] So Gehrke 1978, 172–73.

[14] On the procession: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 100 no. 18 for the archon and *paredroi*; *IG* ii^2 668 and 896 for the *epimelêtai*. For the sacrifices: *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 100 no. 18 ll.11–12; *IG* ii^2 896.

[15] Habicht 1992, 49, however, interprets the two duties of acting as *khorêgos* and as *agônothetês* as referring to different times, with an older burden (the *khorêgeia*) being mentioned alongside its replacement (the *agônothesia*).

[16] Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 92.

[17] Reisch, *RE s.v. agônothetês* col. 871–72 suggests a number of duties additional to those of the *khorêgos* perhaps performed by the *agônothetês*.

pockets (sometimes reaching several talents), and it is possible that personal financial input was indeed expected.[18] The fact that the office was elective rather than sortitive hints that this was the case. When a public fund for the financing of the Dionysian procession was created in the Lycurgan period, the selection process for the *epimelêtai* of that procession changed from being elective to sortitive (prior to the creation of this public fund, the *epimelêtai* were required to finance the procession themselves, so that the duty was essentially a liturgy).[19] The practice of electing the *agônothetês*, rather than appointing him by lot, might therefore be significant. The public fund available may have been inadequate to the function of the office, and the use of election may have been designed to ensure that only those able to afford the duty would be appointed to it; the documented office holders of the third century were notably from the liturgical classes, and all were keen to show themselves as generous benefactors, as *euergetai*, of the state.

As a result, some scholars have interpreted this reform in a non-financial light. The undertaking of the khoregic liturgy was an avenue for the politically ambitious to secure popularity, and its replacement with the *agônothesia* might be understood as a means for Demetrius to control access to this source of prestige.[20] There are hints that the political potential of the *agônothesia* was recognised in the third century.[21] Since Lysimachus and Ptolemy II (both lavish benefactors of the city) made well publicised donations of sacred equipment for the Panathenaea,[22] one wonders whether they might also have sponsored the agonothetic undertakings of their Athenian partisans. Philippides of Kephale, for example, was closely associated with Lysimachus, and

---

[18] See *IG* ii^2 657 l.47, *IG* ii^2 798 ll.18–19 for the contributions by the *agônothetês*, with the discussion of Wilson 2000, 273–75. Moreover, as Gehrke 1978, 172 observes, the *agônothesia* is listed in honorific decrees as a form of liturgy: see *IG* ii^2 682 ll.60ff.

[19] [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 56.4, with Rhodes 1993, 627–28 on the date and significance of the fund.

[20] Just such an interpretation is contemplated by Gehrke 1978, 173; Williams 1983a, 194 & 1997, 339–40; Finley 1983, 37.

[21] The recognition may have pre-dated Demetrius. Nicanor, Cassander's garrison commander, was encouraged by Phocion in 319/18 to act as *agônothetês* in order to buy popularity from the Athenians (Plut. *Phoc.* 31.1). Mikalson 1998, 58–59 suggests that this direct engagement of a foreign general in the running of the festivals revealed the possibility of political manipulation of dramatic contests.

[22] Lysimachus: *IG* ii^2 657 l.12; [Plut.] *Mor.* 851e. For Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Panathenaea: *SEG* 28.60 ll.66–70, with the discussion of Mikalson 1998, 108–9.

his *agônothesia* had an overtly political aspect: he funded an additional competition to recognise "the liberation of the *dêmos*", specifically celebrating the liberation of Eleusis from Lysimachus' enemy, Poliorcetes.[23] For Ptolemy's part, he is known to have had connections with a family, that of Chremonides, which furnished two *agônothetai.*[24] The creation of the *agônothesia* might well have served, on this model, as an instrument of political advancement.[25]

On closer scrutiny, then, the introduction of the new office is but an ambiguous indicator of a financial concern in Demetrius' legislation. There is a still more fundamental problem, to do with his responsibility for this reform. Demetrius' authorship is not attested directly by any ancient authority. In fact, those testimonia on his regime which have anything to say at all about Athens' festivals in this period are concerned with the festivals of 309/8, and it is explicitly his behaviour as archon during the Dionysia of that year that attracts the attention of the sources (see below, 182ff); they make no mention of any new *agônothetês* even though, as an elected official and potential partisan, any *agônothetês* then in office should have been a prime target for criticism. The silence is deepened by the fact that there are no epigraphic records of the city Dionysia or Lenaea for the decade of Demetrius' rule. There are inscriptions from the rural Dionysia from this period, which show that at deme level *khorêgoi* continued to operate—so *IG* ii^2 1200 (from 317/16) and *SEG* 36.186 (best assigned to 313/12), both from the deme Aixone; this is of no significance for dating the creation of the city *agônothesia*, since the rural competitions retained their traditional *khorêgoi* well into the third century (thus *IG* ii^2 3109 and *SEG* 40.181, from Rhamnous, also *Agora* XVI no. 136) long after the introduction of the urban official.[26]

[23] For Philippides' *agônothesia*, see *IG* ii^2 657, ll.40ff. On Lysimachus and Philippides, see also Plut. *Demetr.* 12.5.

[24] These were Chremonides' brother (*IG* ii^2 1291) and father (*IG* ii^2 3458). For connections between Ptolemy and Chremonides, *IG* ii^2 687.

[25] Del Corno 1962, 141 n. 18 proposes another aspect of control, suggesting (after Reisch, *RE s.v. agônothetês*) that the official selected the plays for competition in the dramatic festivals, and that it afforded a means of censoring comment unfavourable to the regime. This is surely unlikely, given the comments that the comic poets made about Demetrius' banquet law (quoted above, 67).

[26] On these deme decrees and the *agônothesia*, Raubitschek 1943, 54. One deme, Acharnai, had apparently done away with its khoregic system by 315/14 and its festivals were under the management of a *dêmarkhos*, a *tamias* and an *epimelêtês* (see *SEG* 43 no. 26 A + B, with Steinhauer 1992). This does not indicate that the *khorêgeia*

Demetrius' involvement in the change is inferred chiefly from the contrasting practices attested in the years framing his regime. The traditional khoregic system is documented under Phocion and the interim democracy of 318; immediately after the fall of Demetrius is the appearance of an *agônothetês* attested. Additional 'evidence' for his authorship has been found in a criticism of khoregic monuments attributed to him, and in the criticism of the festival liturgies by Aristotle.[27] The abolition of individual burdens has further been seen as consistent with the interests of oligarchs (Theophrastus *Char.* 26.6 puts into the mouth of his oligarchic character a lament about the ruination of the rich by the masses through the imposition of liturgies) and as such it supposedly conforms to Demetrius' other postulated oligarchic modifications of Athenian institutions.

All of these 'proofs', however, meet with objections. Demetrius' criticism, dealt with in detail below, need not be read as a condemnation of the liturgy as such. Aristotelian criticism of festival liturgies also falls short of establishing Demetrius' authorship of the *agônothesia*. The broader issue of philosophical influences on Demetrius is discussed below, in chapter five; suffice it to note here that the replacement of a *khorêgos* by an *agônothetês* did not answer Aristotle's underlying objection that vast expenditure on festival performances was a misuse of funds better spent (for example) on the defence of the city; it merely shifted the source of the misdirected finances from an individual to the public treasury.[28] Further, against Aristotle's viewpoint needs to be set the contrasting record of Plutarch, who likens Demetrius to Pericles as a politician who willingly distributed largesse and promoted festival displays as a means of satisfying the public. So Plutarch *Mor.* 818c–d = Demetr. 50 SOD:

> If, on the other hand, the masses find a pretext in a traditional festival in honour of a god and are bent on some spectacle or a small distribution or a boon for the welfare of the public or an act of private munificence, they should be allowed to enjoy the liberty and have the means to

had already been abolished in the city. In Archanai there is notably no appearance of an *agônothetês*, and the deme's emphasis on the *epimelêtai* may have been encouraged by changes to the status of the *epimelêtês* that had occurred at city level under Lycurgus (below, 293 n. 4) rather than by any dismantling of the *khorêgeia* at city level by Demetrius of Phalerum.

27 *Pol.* 1309a11 cf. 1320b4. Lycurgus (1.139–40) evinces similar concerns.

28 Gehrke 1978, 172. See also below, 186 for Demetrius and Aristotle on liturgies.

do so. After all, there are many things of that sort among the public acts of Pericles and also of Demetrius.

This kind of expenditure is hardly in keeping with Aristotle's stance. Finally, many elements of the oligarchic programme commonly associated with Demetrius have been shown to be baseless (so, for example, the abolition of sortition of archons, the repeal of the *graphê paranomôn*) so that the argument from oligarchic principles is tenuous.

Demetrius' authorship of the reform must, therefore, depend heavily on the inscriptional record, and even that record allows an alternative reconstruction. The first attested *agônothetês*, Xenocles of Sphettus,[29] was a former associate of Lycurgus, and given the prominence attained by Lycurgan partisans in the democracy restored in 307/6, it is credible that Xenocles was elected by the democratic regime.[30] He enjoyed a close association with Antigonus Monophthalmus himself, an association that was to see him bring a 140 talent donation to Athens at Antigonus' behest in the very next year (*IG* ii^2 1492 ll.97–103, of 306/5). These Antigonid leanings make it probable indeed that Xenocles' election to the *agônothesia* is to be associated with the fall of Demetrius' regime. And if Xenocles' election post-dates Demetrius, what of the office to which he was elected?

A brief survey of the timing of the democratic resurgence shows that the *agônothesia* itself could indeed have been created after the Antigonid liberation of Athens in 307/6. Poliorcetes entered Athens early in the archon year of Anaxicrates (307/6), having instituted his siege of that city (on Plutarch's record, *Demetr.* 8.5 = Demetr. 29 SOD) late in 308/7. Jacoby placed Poliorcetes' entry into Athens in the first month (Hecatombaeon) of 307/6, and suggested that the constituent assembly by which democracy was restored belonged to the same month.[31] Changes began to emerge almost immediately upon the fall of the regime: Pritchett and Meritt calculated, for example, that the calendrical reorganisation made to accommodate the new tribes Antigonis and Demetrias (tribes created to honour the city's liberators)

[29] For the possibility that Xenocles' brother, Androcles, also served as *agônothetês* this year, see 168 n. 10.

[30] He apparently succeeded Lycurgus in his financial post (*SEG* 19. 119, and Rhodes 1972, 108 n. 1), and is widely regarded as acting on Lycurgus' behalf in that office. On his career in general, Davies 1971, no. 11234; Ampolo 1979, and Faraguna 1992, 228–29.

[31] See his commentary on Philoch. *FGrHist.* 328 F66.

was accomplished very early in 307/6, or perhaps in late 308/7, even before the formal procession of Poliorcetes into the city. Therefore, while the organisation of the Dionysia was traditionally among the first duties of an incoming archon, it is feasible, on a temporal basis, that the restructuring of the festival liturgy occurred in 307/6.

The political situation in 307/6 provided fertile ground for the creation of the *agônothesia*, from the viewpoints both of the Antigonid liberators of the city, and of the Athenian democrats who came to power in the wake of the liberation. The *agônothesia* is compatible with the ideals of the Athenian democrats of 307/6 because it is consistent with the earlier policies of Lycurgus, who was used by the democrats as something of a figurehead and rallying point. (It was these democrats who voted the honours to Lycurgus preserved by [Plut.] *Mor.* 852.) It is well known that the Lycurgan era witnessed many reforms in the area of Athenian religious festivals.[32] In the mid 330s, for example, a law enacted by Lycurgus' associate, Aristonicus of Marathon, established a separate source of funds for the Lesser Panathenaea: revenues from the lease of newly acquired public lands (possibly those of Oropus) were earmarked for this festival.[33] The inscription recording Aristonicus' provision contained another decree (*IG* ii^2 334) formalising the festival organisation, and yet another stone dated by Sweigert to the early Lycurgan period contains remains of a law or decree concerning the management of another major festival, perhaps the Great Panathenaea. The introduction of a fund for the *epimelêtai* of the Dionysian procession, and the concomitant change from election to sortition (noted above), have also been attributed to Lycurgus. He further ordered the compilation of versions of the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and moved that only these official texts be used for subsequent productions at the Dionysia ([Plut.] *Mor.* 841f). Notable also in this context is the fact that Xenocles, the first documented *agônothetês*, was himself associated with Lycurgus in the religious programme of the 330s, and had acted as a festival liturgist on numerous occasions.[34] In terms of an interest in the conduct

[32] Humphreys 1985, 209–14 cf. Faraguna 1992, 355–80.
[33] See *IG* ii^2 334 and Lewis 1959. On Aristonicus, Lucian *Dem. Enc.* 31.
[34] On his religious activities, *IG* ii^2 1191, 2840, 2841; for service as a *khorêgos*, *IG* ii^2 749 (a fragment of an honorary decree argued by Habicht 1988 to have been passed for Xenocles' homonymous grandson, with the extant lines cataloguing the grandfather's benefactions). On his connections with Lycurgus, Mikalson 1998, 35–36.

and financing of religious festivals, then, the creation of the *agônothesia* is consistent with the earlier policies espoused by the Lycurgan circle.

The Lycurgan era further furnishes a precedent for the form of financial administration employed for the new dramatic official: the construction of new city walls in the 330s had been financed also from a public fund administered by an elected official, who was encouraged to make supplements from his private purse.[35] Both the concern for religious observance and the model of economic management, then, are paralleled by developments orchestrated by Lycurgus and his associates. This very circle was central to the politics of 307/6, both in terms of its surviving figures who attained political prominence and in the adoption of Lycurgus as a figurehead for the restored democracy.[36] There is thus a possibility that the restructuring of the festival finances is to be associated not with Demetrius but with the new regime of 307/6, a regime which may have been encouraged by Lycurgus' own complaint against the khoregic system (*Leoc.*139–40) as a conspicuous display of wealth.

A possible Antigonid impetus exists for the creation of the *agônothesia*, for the institution of cult for Antigonus and Demetrius as Saviour Gods entailed the creation of new festivals. Diodorus records the institution, at the liberation of Athens, of "annual games with a procession and a sacrifice" for the *Soteres* (20.46.2). This enlargement of the festival calendar imposed by the veneration of the new gods—like the Athenians' later alteration of the Dionysia to accommodate a Demetrieia festival for Poliorcetes[37]—offers a plausible context for the creation of the *agônothesia*, with its tenure by a supporter of the new liberators. It is particularly unfortunate that no inscriptional record of these 'annual games' of the *Soteres* exists to allow us to check the involvement of the new official in the new festivals. We may, nonetheless, be

[35] In [Plut.] *Mor.* 851a, we find Demochares elected as a commissioner for fortification-building, a post in which he contributed three talents plus money for two trenches around the Piraeus. On Lycurgus' religious programme generally, see Mitchel 1965, 196.

[36] On the rise of Stratocles and the propaganda surrounding Lycurgus, see Habicht 1997, 67ff.

[37] Plut. *Demetr.* 12.1, with an erroneous claim that the Demetrieia replaced the Dionysia; it was more probably an extension of the Dionysia or a renaming of some parts of the Dionysia (so Habicht 1970, 53; Mikalson 1998, 93), for the two names co-existed as they did on Euboea (see *IG* ii^2 649 ll.41f, and for Euboea *IG* xii.9.207). Thonemann 2005, 78 posits 294/93 as the earliest possible date for its introduction at Athens.

able to trace a hint of the 'Antigonid flavour' brought to bear at the dithyrambic contest staged by Xenocles, for it is clear that the winning tribe was either Antigonis or Demetrias; the deliberate and complete erasure of the name of the victorious tribe from the dithyrambic record *IG* ii^2 3077 points to this identity, for such tokens of the Antigonid house were later systematically removed from Attic inscriptions.[38] A reorganisation of the *khorêgeia* in favour of an *agônothesia* would have permitted the Antigonids to advertise their liberation of Athens. It would further have allowed them to exploit the kudos associated with khoregic expenses in a more subtle manner than the kind of overt display attempted by Antipater's garrison commander, Nicanor, in 319/18. It meant, for one, that a native Athenian retained official control, even though his financial outlay could well have been supplemented by his Macedonian backers. It facilitated too another emphatic reassertion of *dêmos* identity such as we find elsewhere in the records of the democratic regime restored by the Antigonids, since the agonothetic inscriptions would proclaim 'the *dêmos* was the *khorêgos*': here we can discern a clear assertion of the willing participation of the *dêmos* as a whole in the honouring of the Antigonids.

A temporal and political context may, therefore, be found in 307/6 for the creation of the *agônothesia*. A democratic impetus behind the abolition of the festival liturgy has the added benefit of producing a more consistent pattern in the responses in 307/6 to the ousted regime. On the traditional understanding of its origin, the *agônothesia* was the sole Phalerean office maintained by the democrats; those others created by Demetrius, the *nomophulakes* and *gunaikonomoi*, were abolished upon the liberation of Athens. This 'retention' of the festival official would be less remarkable were it in fact a creation of the democracy.

In arguing that the *agônothesia* was not an innovation by Demetrius, I am not maintaining that there was absolutely no change to the *khorêgeia*; rather, that the change was of a different kind, one more in keeping with Demetrius' other moral and sumptuary laws that have been claimed in preceding chapters. I suspect, in fact, that Demetrius abolished not the khoregic liturgy as such, but limited the monuments in which the khoregic victors displayed their prizes (in particular, here, we must think of the elaborate edifices built to house the tripods

[38] Lambert 2000–2003, 103.

awarded to victors of the dithyrambic contests). The key evidence comes from a citation of Demetrius in Plutarch's essay *De gloria Atheniensium* (*Mor.* 349a–b = Demetr. 115 SOD),[39] an essay in which Plutarch contrasts the glory won from military prowess with that gained through literary endeavours. Comparing the vast sums lavished on theatrical productions with the relatively meagre resources directed towards fighting the barbarians—there is an entertaining juxtaposition of the frugal dinners granted the Athenian soldiers by their generals, with the 'nice little eels and small crops of lettuce' lavished by the *khorêgoi* on their chorus members—Plutarch continues:

> For those of them [the *khorêgoi*] who were beaten, there was nothing left but to be the object of scorn and ridicule; but for those who won, there was the tripod, this being, as Demetrius says, not a votive offering (*anathêma*) to celebrate their victory but a last libation (*epispeisma*)[40] of their spilt livelihood and an empty memorial (*kenotaphion*) of their bankrupt estates. For such were the rewards of the art of poetry and nothing more splendid came from them.

This dictum, although usually taken as an affirmation of Demetrius' hostility towards the khoregic liturgy in general, may well apply more specifically to the khoregic monuments built at the personal expense of the *khorêgos*. That is to say, the quotation from Demetrius need not include the contrast between the 'prizes' falling to defeated and victorious *khorêgoi*, but only the description of the tripod as "not a votive offering . . . but a last libation . . . and an empty memorial . . . "; the broader context, with its comparison between the fate of victor and vanquished, may be Plutarch's own, framed to serve his own rhetorical purpose. Demetrius' terminology is certainly consistent with a focus on the monument. He uses the language of religious ritual (*anathêma, epispeisma*) and likens the tripod to a burial monument (*kenotaphion*). This is suggestive of the monuments in which tripods were housed, since these were modelled as shrines: in his treatment of the famed 'Tripod Street' (the street in Athens along which most khoregic

[39] It is generally believed that the Demetrius cited here is the Phalerean, although Plutarch usually appends the demotic when referring to him. Of the twenty-one times Demetrius of Phalerum is cited by Plutarch, his demotic is given in eighteen. Besides the passage in question, the other two exceptions are at *Mor.* 818c and *Demos.* 14.2; in the latter, the identification of the Demetrius as the Phalerean is clear, as the full name had already been given with demotic at *Demos.* 9.4, 11.3 and subsequently at 28.4.

[40] This is an emendation: the manuscript reads *epi peismatôn.*

monuments were displayed), Pausanias (1.20.1) describes the shrines (*naoi*) holding the tripods, while Plutarch (*Nic.* 3.3) writes of the temple (*nêos*) Nicias built for his tripods.

It may, then, be posited that Demetrius condemned the expenditure on monuments for the victory tripods, and that rather than abolishing the *khorêgeia* he may have sought merely to check the extravagance of the monuments. This reconstruction of his views is consistent with his prohibition of elaborate funerary monuments, and may have had a similarly religious motivation: while the dedication of the tripod was essentially an act of piety, the lavish scale of the monuments exceeded the limits of religious propriety and served to honour not the gods but the family of the victorious *khorêgos*.[41] In this case too, Demetrius may have been reacting against recent trends, for just as burial monuments had reached a peak of extravagance in the fourth century, so too had the khoregic monuments. It may be no coincidence that the finest tripod dedications known come from the period immediately preceding Demetrius' regime. Few visitors to Athens even today would not be familiar with the monument built by Lysicrates in 335/34 to support his tripod, while the khoregic monuments of Nicias (winning *khorêgos* of the boys' dithyramb in 320/19: fig. 4) and Thrasyllus (winner of the men's dithyramb in the very same year) are almost temples in their own right, their ambitious scale prompting Wilson, in his fine analysis of khoregic monuments, to comment that "there seems to have been a veritable agon between *khorêgoi* of different years—and, in one striking case, between victorious *khorêgoi* of the same year—to outbuild one another with monuments on a grand scale."[42]

These fine monuments ran the risk of overstepping the threshold of acceptable self-promotion by the victorious *khorêgos* and approached the sacrilegious. The religious overtones in their composition were not justified by their function: these tripod monuments were not dedications to the gods, despite being built as shrines (*naoi*) with increasing frequency in the fourth century. The language of khoregic inscriptions

---

[41] Wilson 2000, 221, notes of the architectural individualism in the khoregic monument of Lysicrates: "like the grave monument, which show a similar tendency at this period towards ostentation, this trend in monumental practice has been seen as marking a break with political as well as architectural tradition, a rupture with the city-state 'corporatism' of the classical age, and intimating the personality cult of the Hellenistic type."

[42] Wilson 2000, 209; see his 219–35 for full discussion on and reconstruction of the pertinent monuments.

Fig. 4. Foundations of the temple-style khoregic monument of Nicias (*khorêgos* 320/19) on the slopes of the Acropolis. Photo: Author.

does not conform to usual dedicatory language and there is no divine recipient.[43] Nicias' monument deserves special notice, for it was a veritable temple, with foundations measuring 16.68m by 11.79m. He might well have employed the verb of dedication in his inscription (*IG* ii^2 3055: Nicias "dedicated this" (*anethêke*), language unusual on khoregic monuments)[44] to diffuse some of the religious tension in creating such a temple for his own victory. But any vestige of modesty is undercut by the further innovation on his inscription, in which Nicias claims the victory himself (so "Nicias, son of Nicodemus, of the deme Xypete, dedicated this after being victorious") rather than sharing it through his winning tribe. To quote Wilson again, "the urban *khoregic* inscription presents itself as a recorder of victorious personnel rather than a dedication. It presents itself as 'a memorial of the *khoros*,' rather than a gift to Dionysus."

---

[43] For the distinction between khoregic monuments and dedications to gods, see Wilson 2000, 209. On the prevalence of *naioi* in the fourth century, see again Wilson 2000, 213, who notes however that there may be a fifth-century example of a khoregic monument in the form of a shrine or *naiskos*.

[44] But echoed by Thrasyllus in the same year. See Wilson 2000, 227.

The remarkable khoregic monuments of the late fourth century and the grave monuments of the period share another similarity. It is a point that ought not be pressed too far since the interpretation of individual elements is open to question, but its possible ramifications for our perception of Demetrius' purposes are tantalising. Like some grave monuments of the period, a few of the khoregic dedications of the mid- and late fourth century are thought to betray the influence of Macedonian artistic practice. McCredie, for example, identified Macedonian elements in Lysicrates' monument, while the Philippeion, constructed at Delphi by Philip II after his victory at Chaeronea, is thought to inform the khoregic monuments of Thrasycles and Nicias.[45] Any Macedonian overtones in the structures built for Nicias and Thrasycles would, of course, have been amplified by the fact that these two men won their victories at a markedly Macedonian and oligarchic time in Athens' history, for Antipater had recently imposed his harsh terms; it was, notably, the very year in which the commander of the Macedonian garrison in the Piraeus, attempting to ameliorate the hostility with which he was regarded by the Athenians, acted as *agônothetês* for the festivals.[46]

Khoregic display was thus becoming tainted on many levels: in terms of its religious propriety, perhaps in terms of its civic propriety too (becoming even more definitively a matter of self-aggrandisement and less a celebration of civic competition), and finally in terms of its political propriety, through its Macedonian associations. Demetrius of Phalerum could have moved to limit this problem, just as he curbed the similar excesses of funeral monuments, thereby striking a blow for religious propriety and at the same time asserting, in a symbolic fashion, the independence of his city from Macedonian tendencies. It is tempting, in this light, to find an added sting in the allegation (preserved by Athen. 542f–543a = Demetr. 43A SOD) that young and beautiful boys loitered around Athens' famous Tripod Street in an attempt to gain Demetrius' attention. His assertion of a moral and religious order through the circumscribing of tripod-displays is here undercut by the insinuation that Tripod Street, the site of many of

[45] Thus McCredie 1984. On the Philipeion, see further Townsend 2003.

[46] To which may be added the fact that Thrasyllus employed for music the *aulêtês* Euios, who features also among the musicians contracted to play at the mass weddings of Alexander and his generals at Susa (Athen. 538f; Plut. *Eum.* 2.2; [Plut.] *Mor.* 180f).

the khoregic monuments, became the venue for far more unsavoury behaviour.[47]

If Demetrius prohibited victorious *khorêgoi* from displaying their prize tripods in lavish shrines, his contribution to the ultimate decline of the khoregic liturgy will have been indirect. Deprived of the opportunity for spectacular personal display to offset their generous maintenance of that most financially crippling of khoregic burdens, the dithyrambic liturgy, Athenians of the liturgical classes may have been much less willing to undertake their obligations. Weakening the reciprocal tie of personal glorification and civic sacrifice would have eased a path for the restructuring of the liturgy by the restored democracy in 307/6, but it was the revision of the festivals occasioned by the introduction of Antigonids' cult that gave the ensuing development of the *agônothesia* its real impetus. The *agônothesia* was not so much a response to financial difficulties among the liturgical classes as a response to a change in the political situation. Politically, it enhanced the prestige of the liberators, the Antigonids, whose partisan Xenocles oversaw the first festivals under their aegis; it enhanced too the prestige of the restored *dêmos*, not only by substituting that *dêmos* as *khorêgos* but by granting to the *dêmos* the right to scrutinise the actions of the elected *agônothetês*. (Such scrutiny apparently occurred in the assembly traditionally held after the Dionysia: see *IG* ii^2 780, honouring the *agônothetês* of 247/46).[48] Financially, the *agônothesia* was scarcely other than another liturgy in its own right, the occasion for substantial financial outlay on the one hand but nonetheless an opportunity for personal promotion and glorification on the other.

Demetrius' restriction of the monuments themselves had little lasting impact. Xenocles and his successors celebrated their civic benefactions in a grand style, erecting impressive monuments to record their activities in office. Xenocles himself documented his *agônothesia* on an inscription which stands over four metres in height and forms part of

[47] Some connection between this claim and Demetrius' reforms is made more plausible by the fact that the allegation forms part of an extensive passage which throughout seems to turn on the contravention by Demetrius of his own regulations: see above, 46–47 cf. 65.

[48] It is doubtful that *khorêgoi* were likewise subject to scrutiny by the *dêmos* (so MacDowell 1978, 164), although Plut. *Phoc.* 30.2–3 provides anecdotal evidence of at least one law circumscribing their behaviour. Notably, Plutarch is prompted to mention this law by Demades' alleged (and very ostentatious) flaunting of its provisions when he was a *khorêgos*, perhaps under Antipater's oligarchy.

a decorative gate, while it was a subsequent *agônothetês* who built the large hexagonal building which housed the theatrical records, the *didaskalia*, on which so much modern knowledge of Athenian dramatic competition now rests. In this respect, Demetrius' impact on the festival culture of Athens was indirect or minimal.

While the introduction of the *agônothesia* eludes the notice of our extant sources, the running of the festivals in general does not escape comment. As archon in 309/8, Demetrius had the responsibility of organising the City Dionysia and indeed the Great Panathenaea which happened also to fall in 309/8. The festivals that year elicited strong reactions from Demetrius' political enemies. His contemporary, Demochares, apparently recorded some of the more egregious aspects in his history, later cited by Polybius (12.13.11 = Demetr. 89 SOD). These outrages included the appearance at the head of the Dionysian procession of a mechanical snail which oozed out saliva as it moved, and also—according to a rather disputed passage—the introduction of donkeys into the theatre itself.[49] So Polybius:

> [Demetrius] was not ashamed of the fact that an automated snail led his procession, spitting out saliva, and that to cap it all donkeys were sent right through the theatre; nor indeed that the city had ceded the championship of all the ideals of Hellas to the others and merely did what Cassander ordered.

It is possible that some rather difficult notices about Demetrius' alleged introduction of *Homêristai* (apparently performers of the Homeric texts, in the rhapsodic tradition)[50] derive from this same context,

[49] For the donkeys, see Walbank 1945, with his subsequent commentary on Polybius 12.13.11. On the snail, see Rehm 1937; for similar mechanical toys, Austin 1959, 17–18. There is another comment on Demetrius' festival procession at Athenaeus (542e = Demetr. 43A SOD), where are reported excessively laudatory verses sung by the chorus in the procession, verses verging upon the sacrilegious in which the archon himself was hailed as 'sun-shaped'. (For discussion of this passage, see 213). Athenaeus' ultimate authority here may be Demochares or Duris: Athenaeus has just cited Duris, and immediately after the material on the procession proceeds to cite Carystius, whose material on Demetrius seems to derive from Demochares. As stated above, Demochares is known to have described Demetrius' procession. Duris, on the other hand, is known to have recorded the use of rather similar verses sung in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes (ap. Athen. 253d = *FGrHist*. 76 F13) and it is tempting to wonder whether he recorded those sung for the Phalerean as an explicit comparison: this much is in fact suggested below, 300.

[50] The real nature of Demetrius' innovation is a little unclear. Performers called *Homêristai* who evidently gave mimetic or acted renditions of Homeric scenes, complete with theatrical props (as distinct from the more sober and earlier rhapsodic

namely from Demochares' attacks on the festivals of Demetrius' archonship. Two sources document these *Homêristai*; thus Athenaeus (620b = Demetr. 55A SOD):

> About [Cassander], it is said by the Carystian in his *Historika Hupomnêmata* that he was such an enthusiast that he could orally quote much of the epic poetry. And he made his own private transcription of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In *Peri Khorôn*, Aristocles said that the rhapsodes were also called *Homêristai*. But those (who are) now named *Homêristai* were first introduced into the theatres by Demetrius of Phalerum.[51]

and similarly Eustathius (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 24.482 = Demetr. 55B SOD):

> Thus it is understandable that the poet was loved especially by those who knew what is beautiful. Alexander the Great, for instance, is reported to have been a great lover of Homer; to give another example, Cassander, himself also king of the Macedonians, loved Homer so much, they say, as to know most of his verses by heart. Demetrius of Phalerum too shared this love of Homer: he was the first to introduce, they say, the rhapsodes who are also called 'Homerists' into the theatre. These men chanted the (verses) of Homer, as others those of Hesiod, Archilochus and others.

---

reciters of Homeric material) are not again attested until much after the Phalerean regime; not, indeed, until Petronius, and then more numerously in the second and third centuries AD. On the *Homêristai* generally, see Kroll *RE s.v. Homeristai* Suppl. III, col. 1158; usages of the label are collected by Nagy 1996, 164ff, who notes further that rhapsodes continue to be attested well after Demetrius' supposed introduction of *Homêristai*. But Demetrius is scarcely to be credited with the introduction of the *rhapsôidoi* proper: tradition ascribed that to the Peisistratids ([Plato] *Hipp*. 228b). The solution of Ferguson 1911a, 57, that Demetrius transferred the rhapsodic contest from the Panathenaea to the Dionysia, is possible, but unnecessary: the phrase 'into the theatre,' on which Ferguson bases his interpretation, could refer to the Panathenaea, since Lycurgus built a theatre to stage the musical and rhapsodic contests associated with that festival: see Romano 1996, 78–80. More convincing is the careful treatment of the problem by Nagy 1996, 173–75, who argues that what may have occurred in the Phalerean period was the creation of an authoritative 'state text' of Homer, one to which the rhapsodic performers of Homer were obliged to adhere. (There is an obvious parallel with the developments by Lycurgus who (according to [Plut.] *Mor*. 841f) legislated for the preparation of official state texts of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.) Any such 'fixing' of the performance text will inevitably have had an eventual impact on the style of Homeric performance, shifting the focus from the rhapsode's 'construction' of his text and encouraging in its place a 'theatricalisation' of performance.

[51] The material quoted here is more extensive than that given as Demetr. 55A SOD, for reasons that become apparent below. For the additional material here I follow the translation of Nagy 1996, 158.

The accounts of Athenaeus and Eustathius have clearly a common source (indeed Eustathius may be borrowing directly from Athenaeus). Athenaeus gives us a potential hint of that source when he names 'the Carystian' as his authority at least for the material about Cassander, and Aristocles for a discussion of the *Homêristai*. Both the Carystian and Aristocles may lead us back to Demochares; both certainly knew his writings, since they both cite Demochares elsewhere, and Demochares, as we have already observed, is known to have criticised Demetrius' conduct of the festivals.[52]

Demetrius' conduct of the festivals is, for Demochares, a symbol of the former's subservience to Macedonian interests. For the purposes of Demochares' hostile propaganda, Demetrius' introduction of *Homêristai* into the theatre could conceivably have served the same purpose as the similar claim that he brought in 'donkeys': both statements would have been designed to underscore Demetrius' relationship with Cassander, a relationship through which the city had been subjugated by a Macedonian overlord. A passion for Homer was, after all, something that united Demetrius and Cassander. Demetrius himself was a Homeric scholar of some note and the author of two volumes on the *Iliad*, four on the *Odyssey* and one of *Homerica* (of which fragments survive: see Demetr. 143–46 SOD).[53] When both Athenaeus and Eustathius inform us that Cassander too loved Homer, so much so that he could quote much of it by heart and had made his own private transcript of both Homeric epics, one may suspect that this part of their report also comes ultimately from Demochares, and further that he deliberately prefaced his reference to the *Homêristai* with such allusions to Cassander in order consciously to foster an implied connection between Cassander and Demetrius;[54] any claim

---

[52] For Demochares and Carystius, see the comments below, 306–307; Aristocles also used Demochares' work (notably as a source of information for the charges brought against Aristotle: see Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 15.2.6). While there is no allusion to the *Homêristai* in Polybius' report of Demochares' criticisms, it would be wrong to assume that he gives a full paraphrase of the original; notably too, in the text of Polybius 12. 13.11 Jacoby marks a lacuna.

[53] For discussion of these fragments, see Montanari 2000.

[54] One might venture even further and suggest that the term *Homêristai* itself was not an official designation created by Demetrius, but may rather have been coined in contemporary polemic. Pejorative overtones are apparent in a parallel fourth century form *Pythagoristai* (a label applied apparently to one particular group of followers of Pythagoras to distinguish them from the more 'legitimate' and established followers, the *Pythagoreioi*; it is, notably, in comedy that the *Pythagoristai* are to be found: see

that Demetrius encouraged the performances of Homeric works in the theatre highlighted his close link with his Macedonian master.[55]

From the perspective of the Athenian festivals, the Phalerean era is clearly one of gentle, rather than momentous, transition.[56] Demetrius prepared the ground for future change. His great procession with its mechanised toys foreshadows the pageants of the Hellenistic, and particularly Ptolemaic, courts; his curtailment of khoregic monuments, as argued above, perhaps eased the way for the later abolition of the liturgy. But the creation of the *agônothesia*, when it came, had more to do with a radical shift in political context, and a new religious climate in which mortal liberators (Antigonus and Poliorcetes) could be recognised with festival honours formerly reserved for deities. To that extent, the festivals of Athens have in fact little to tell us about our original question, namely the basis of the financial administration of the state and of Demetrius' interest in that management.

4.2 *The other liturgies*

The interpretation and re-dating of the *agônothesia* advanced above have immediate ramifications for Demetrius' attitude to Athens' other

Aristophon F 9.2, 12.3 KA). A comparison between *Pythagoristai* and *Homêristai* is drawn already by Nagy 1996, 178. Moreover the treatment of the *Homêristai* who feature in Petronius' *Satyricon* hints that, in the first century AD, this class of performer was looked upon askance, and this may reflect upon an early denigratory origin of the term.

[55] A further nuance may have been the echo of an earlier Athenian tyranny: as noted above, it is the Peisistratids who are said to have first introduced the rhapsodes. Demetrius of Phalerum, by analogy, is the new tyrant.

[56] Two other changes in festival management (this time, of the Panathenaea) should be noted in passing here, if only to reject them. One is the claim of Ferguson 1911a, 57 that the *athlothetai* of the Panathenaea (on whom, see [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 60) were replaced by an *agônothetês* in the time of Demetrius; the other, that there was a further change in Panathenaic organization under Demetrius which resulted in the Panathenaic prize amphorae after 312/11 no longer bearing the name of the archon under whose control the prize oil had been harvested, and showing instead the name of the military treasurer (on which, see Edwards 1957, 331–34, and Barringer 2003). But the *athlothetai* continued to exist and to do their job well into the Hellenistic period (for evidence, see Nagy 1978, esp. 310, citing *IG* ii^2 784 from 240/39) and the change on Panathenaic amphorae is not closely datable: the last archon attested is Polemon (312/11), but the subsequent *tamiai* inscriptions could be considerably later (as Edwards 333 concedes), and the only reason to link the change to Demetrius is a belief that he undertook a major restructuring of Athenian festivals.

financial liturgies, since his supposed restructuring of the entire liturgic system is largely predicated upon his supposed abolition of the *khorêgeia*. The abolition of the trierarchy, whereby individuals would undertake the maintenance of a trireme, is particularly problematic, although it is often associated with Demetrius' rule.[57] As an extension from the fate of the *khorêgeia*, an abolition of the trierarchy is itself not as logical a development as it may superficially seem, even for a legislator supposedly influenced by Aristotle as the Peripatos-trained Demetrius is often thought to be. Aristotle's criticism of the *khorêgeia* (*Pol.*1309a11 cf. 1320b4) was directed not against liturgies as such, but targeted at the 'useless' public services like the *khorêgeia* or the *gymnasiarchia*; he objected to these expenses because they drained funds otherwise available for 'useful' projects, like financing the defence of the state.[58] An adherent of Aristotle might not necessarily look to the abolition of a liturgy such as the trierarchy as an automatic extension of the dismantling of the *khorêgeia*. There are thus ideological problems in linking the *khorêgeia* to the trierarchy in the first place; with the abolition of *khorêgeia* itself cast into doubt, the argument about the other liturgies becomes increasingly precarious.

The inscriptional record throughout the third century and beyond does suggest a dismantling of the traditional liturgies. The *gymnasiarchia* was, for example, an elected post by the second half of the third century (*IG* ii^2 1299), and thus probably different from the fourth century liturgy of that name. Tracing the date of particular changes is, however, very difficult, and there is no clear evidence to sustain any Phalerean connection.

This lack of evidence regarding Demetrius' interest is readily apparent in the case of the trierarchy. Trierarchs are attested immediately after Demetrius' fall (in *IG* ii^2 1491 ll.26, 30, of 307/6) and again in the third century (in *ISE* 29, of 225/24). The presence of a trierarch in 307/6 should be sufficient to establish that the liturgy was still in existence at this point in time. The matter is, admittedly, complicated by the fact that the term 'trierarch' *could* be used here not of one *financing* the trireme (that is, acting as a trierarch in the original, liturgical

[57] Bayer 1942, 71; Ferguson 1911a, 58 and 1909, 317. Rhodes 1993, 682 is more cautious, so too Habicht 1997, 57.

[58] Just such a critique of the festival liturgies is given in Plutarch's *De gloria Atheniensium* (*Mor.* 345c ff), in which are gathered various condemnations of the Athenians for spending more on theatre than on their military forces.

sense) but simply *commanding* it;[59] other terms once covering other financial liturgies, such as *gymnasiarchia*, appear to have been retained even when the office no longer necessarily entailed monetary contributions from the office bearer. Menander, the later trierarch from 225/24, *may* be a such a trierarch whose chief function was to command, not finance, his ship; the language of the decree in his honour just might support such an understanding of his office. He is commended, for example, for using funds from his own pocket (*ek tôn idiôn*) during his trierarchy; this may indicate that this trierarch's financial support of his trireme was not automatically expected as it would have been under the fourth century liturgical system, and that here we have instead a trierarch who is not performing the old financial liturgy. One might compare the use of the same phrase in the commendation of Philippides' *agônothesia* of 284/83 (*IG* ii^2 657 ll. 45–47): as *agônothetês*, Philippides had access to a public fund, and when he nonetheless made private contributions, he received special mention for contributing significant sums *ek tôn idiôn*. By analogy, we may suspect that Menander too had access to a public fund, and that he voluntarily, and generously, added to those public monies from his own resources.[60]

But 225/24 is well after the fall of Demetrius, and Athens had experienced many intervening changes of regime under which the trierarchy could have been altered. The other possible indication of the abolition of the trierarchic liturgy is similarly late: by the late third century, the designation of one of the ten yearly generals as *stratêgos epi tas summorias* seems to have fallen into disuse, and as this general had been responsible for appointing the trierarchs each year, his disappearance may have implications for the liturgy that he administered.[61]

---

[59] Rhodes 1993, 682.

[60] Even here caution should be exercised. Under the fourth century system itself, liturgists could claim kudos from personal expenditure when it exceeded a level deemed necessary for the undertaking: the speaker in [Dem.] 50.7, for example, catalogues the sums he spent on an extraordinary trierarchy (on which, see Trevett 1992, 39–41).

[61] The *stratêgos epi tas summorias* is attested only twice: [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 61.1 and in *IG* ii^2 1629 ll.204–17. By the end of the third century, all ten generals had specific titles, but that of *epi tas summorias* does not feature among them (see Rhodes 1993, 682). The date of his disappearance is a mystery. The attempt by Ferguson 1909, 317 to link it with the emergence of the *stratêgos epi to nautikon* is unwarranted: the general *epi tas summorias* organised the financing of the fleet, that *epi to nautikon* commanded it, and their fates are not necessarily intertwined. The introduction of the

These late indicators of change simply do not justify the retrojection of any intervention back as far as Demetrius, nor permit us to identify, in our trierarch from 307/6, a non-liturgist. Nothing in the inscriptional record of his activity gives reason to doubt that he was a trierarch in anything other than the old, liturgical sense, and to suggest that the trierarchy was abolished by Demetrius, reinstated briefly by the restored democracy and finally dismantled again later,[62] serves only to underscore the lack of evidence for the abolition of liturgies by Demetrius.

The sole suggestion of any interest in naval affairs during Demetrius' rule comes from the inclusion by Philochorus in *Atthis* book seven of an entry on *apostoleis* (*FGrHist.* 328 F63). As officials appointed *ad hoc* to supervise the mobilisation of the fleet and ensure the suitable equipping of the ships, the *apostoleis* had some connection with trierarchs through their handling of disputes over the provisioning of ships,[63] but there is no reason to suppose that Philochorus mentioned them in the context of the trierarchy system; indeed the information he gives about the *apostoleis* applies equally to the institution known before the Phalerean period.[64] It is possible that it was the involvement of Cassander's Munychia garrison in the launching of naval expeditions, not any abolition of the trierarchy, which occasioned a reference to *apostoleis* in *Atthis* book seven.

Against the lack of any evidence for Phalerean intervention in the trierarchy, it is credible that the trierarch of 307/6 is simply that: a trierarch in the traditional sense of a financial liturgist.[65] Indeed Phalerean intervention in the liturgic system as a whole is not supported by compelling evidence. Certainty is impossible, but the aboli-

---

stratêgos epi to nautikon is itself very difficult to pin-point. Its earliest epigraphical application is to Thymochares' command against Hagnon of 321 (*IG* ii² 682, ll.4–8) but the usage in this decree may be anachronistic, and literary sources such as Diodorus were prone to projecting the term back into periods of Athenian history in which the title did not officially exist (thus Jordan 1970). The claim by Ferguson 1909, 314–15, that the labelling as *nauarchos* of the commander Evetion in the context of the Lamian War (Diod. 18.15.9) is evidence for the naval *stratêgos*, has also been shown to be wrong: see Hauben 1975, 104 n. 4, & 1987, 575–77.

[62] As does Williams 1997, 338 n. 34 who does concede that any change must be speculative.

[63] [Dem.] 47.26. Rhodes 1972, 120, cf. 1993, 681.

[64] On *apostoleis* prior to 317, see *IG* ii² 1629; Aesch. 2.177 with scholion; also *Lex. rhet.* p. 203, 22; Pollux 8.99, Hesychius *s.v. apostoleis*.

[65] Gehrke 1978, 171 n. 117 urges a similar conclusion.

tion of the financial burden imposed on wealthy Athenians for festivals and triremes may well be belong to the regimes following Demetrius in the late fourth and third centuries. If that is so, there is no reason to believe that any of Demetrius' legislative reforms were directed at the preservation of individual fortunes. Economic management may have been part of his brief, but it was not an apparent focus of his legislative programme. This conclusion is hardly startling when one bears in mind that Demetrius himself is said to have claimed that "love of money is the mother-city of all evil" (*Florilegium Monacense* no. 188 = Demetr. 79 SOD).[66]

4.3 *The Athenian economy, 317–307*

Throughout the fourth century, Athens' prosperity had come predominantly from two sources: the silver mines and trade revenues.[67] These may have continued to furnish much of the wealth that Athens amassed under Demetrius' aegis, although both faced challenges. Athenian trade, in particular, was subject to threat from the constant warring between Macedonian generals. Cassander's battles with Antigonus Monophthalmus for control of Macedonia and influence in Greece had ramifications for the safety of Athenian merchant vessels, especially since Antigonus appears to have enlisted pirate ships as an instrument of his naval policy.[68] (As discussed fully below, *IG* ii^2 682 may attest to the employment of pirates by Antigonus in 315/14, if the Glaucetas defeated by the Athenian general, Thymochares, may indeed be identified as a pirate operating in collusion with the Antigonids.) Athenian revenues would further have been jeopardised when Athens lost her islands of Lemnos and Samos to Antigonid forces during Demetrius' rule (again, see below, 258ff). Despite these impediments, Athens continued to send out merchant fleets, as revealed by incidental references to them (Diod 19.103.4, Diog. Laert. 7.28), and Demetrius may have been actively working to secure them: it is argued in the final chapter on Athenian foreign policy that the preservation of trade

[66] Demetrius' authorship of the apophthegm is, of course, disputable: other versions attribute it to a variety of other speakers (see notes to the fragment in the edition of Fortenbaugh & Schütrumpf).

[67] Burke 1985, esp. 259ff. Lycurgus created other small-scale revenues such as income from confiscation of condemned estates: see Will 1983, 77–79.

[68] On the use of pirates by the Antigonids, see Gabbert 1986, 157–58.

routes was a key concern of Demetrius' government and a motivating force behind Athenian military activity in this period.

Although Athenian mining may have passed its zenith by the time Demetrius came to power,[69] it could conceivably still have been a significant source of revenues. Unfortunately, those revenues cannot be quantified. In her collection of mining leases, Crosby is unable to identify any as belonging specifically to the period 317–307, although there are a number of late fourth-century lease records that cannot be dated with precision.[70] This dearth of documentation may be due to a suspension of inscription of such documents rather than a marked decline in mining, and a continuation of this activity may in fact be inferred from the inscription published by Crosby as her no. 34. Dating to 307/6, it documents the renewal of an existing lease; if the lease period for the mine in question was the standard seven years, then the mine referred to had been leased originally in 314/13.[71] More doubtfully, Hopper suggests that the large slave number preserved in Demetrius' census is a reflection of sustained mining activity under his regime.[72] Athenaeus, who reports the census results, does indeed go on to mention the use of huge slave forces in mining, but the provenance of the figure and its applicability to slaves is suspect (see above, 111). Demetrius' own comments on the wretched conditions of the miners, who "dig as intently as if they expected to bring up Pluto himself" (Strabo, *Geographika* 3.2.9 = Demetr. 116A SOD), are common fare for the moral philosophers, and fall far short of being evidence for the health of the industry in this period, still less of revealing any legislative interference in mining.[73]

---

[69] Crosby 1950, 190 locates the peak of mining revenues under Eubulus (mid-fourth century), and suggests that a decline was already under way by the time of Lycurgus.

[70] Crosby 1950, 189–312.

[71] See Crosby 1950, comments on no. 34.

[72] Hopper 1953, 252 n. 386.

[73] See also Athen. 233d–e = Demetr. 116B SOD. In both accounts, Demetrius procedes with an allusion to a riddle from the Homeric tradition, saying of the miners that "what they took up, they did not take, yet what they had, they lost"—a recasting of the riddle found first in Heraclitus (in connection with Homer), and later in all Homeric vita (see Kirk 1950). Hopper's attempt to enlist the anecdote as evidence that Demetrius discouraged mining (so Hopper 1953 252 & 1961, 149) is misdirected. For similar critiques of mining, see Horace *Carm.* 3.49ff; Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* 1.17.6, 5.15.3, *Ep.* 94.57.

Sources contemporary with Demetrius himself suggest that the major basis of the revival in Athenian fortunes may not have resided as much in the creation of new sources of revenue, as in the curtailment of central expenditure.[74] Duris (Athen. 542c = Demetr. 43A SOD) alleges that Demetrius spent nothing on the administration (*dioikêsis*) of the state. The tenor of this allegation is quite in keeping with what we have already observed about the suspension of public inscriptional records, and in particular, about the curtailment of expenditure for items such as honorific statues.[75] Further, the building activity that flourished under Lycurgus seems to have been reduced.[76] Diogenes Laertius' claim that Demetrius "added to the city both income and *buildings* (*kataskeuai*)" (5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD) accords ill with other indications, such as Demetrius' own criticism of Pericles' vast expenditure on the Propylaea (Cic. *De Off.* 2.17.60 = Demetr. 110 SOD). Buildings whose commissioning has been attributed to Lycurgus and which were incomplete at his death, notably the remodelled Pnyx, and possibly a new law-court complex to the north east of the agora,[77] remained unfinished during Demetrius' reign.[78] Indeed, the only construction work explicitly attributed to Demetrius is the addition of a prostylon portico to the existing shrine of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis. Thus Vitruvius *De Architectura* 7, pref. 16–17 = Demetr. 54 SOD:

> When Demetrius of Phalerum obtained supreme power in Athens, Philo made [the shrine] into a prostyle building by having columns placed before the temple in front.

Even this work was only the completion of a project initiated earlier by Xenocles of Sphettus and by Lycurgus.[79]

Demetrius may also have kept expenditure on military resources to a minimum. Duris certainly singles this out for comment in the

---

[74] Demetrius' curbing of expenditure, documented below, is perhaps to be seen as a logical extension of the drive throughout the Lycurgan period to put the state's finances on a more sustainable, and rationalized, footing (on which see particularly Faraguna 1992, 289ff.

[75] See 117–18 for discussion.

[76] For a recent treatment of Lycurgus' building programme, Will 1983, 79–93.

[77] On the new law court complex, see Thompson 1952, 99 and Thompson 1954, 58–61 (Camp 1986, 167 argues however that work on it only commenced ca. 300). On the Pnyx, see Camp & Rotroff 1986; cf. Hansen 1996, 23.

[78] Mitchel 1964, 346 n. 40.

[79] See Mylonas 1961, 133–34. The building, and the inscriptions relating to its construction, are discussed by Clinton 1971, 108–13, and Mikalson 1998, 25–26.

passage mentioned above (Demetr. 43A SOD: "Demetrius...spent only a little of this income on the army" (*eis tous stratiôtas*)), and granted that his principal focus is on the military proper, and not the ephebic training which Demetrius may have revitalised, Duris may well be right. There was, we may suspect, little encouragement from Cassander for Demetrius to cultivate Athens' military strength; the sources reveal only three instances in which Cassander demanded military support from Athens, and it is believed that the Macedonian hegemon preferred to develop a native Macedonian fleet rather than encourage the rebuilding of Athenian naval reserves. (It was not until the Antigonids liberated Athens in 307/6 that the naval losses of the Lamian War came to be addressed.) Attica itself was threatened only once, during the incursion of Antigonus' general Polemaeus in 313/12, and the army was not then mobilised. Indeed Athens seems to have made it through the decade of Demetrius' rule largely unscathed by military ravages, unlike much of the Peloponnese where the intermittent struggles of Cassander against his Macedonian rivals took their toll; hence, while Diodorus could write of the "unbearable hardships" that prompted many mainland Greeks to venture a campaign against Carthage in 309/8 (20.40.6–7), he would claim that Demetrius' regime in Athens was a period of peace (18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD).

This lack of attention to Athens' military resources, a lack made possible by the marginalising of Athens as a military power during the Diadochan struggles, and the peace that Athens herself enjoyed as a result, may be vital to our appreciation of the ancient comments on the regime. The relative stability enjoyed by Athens under Cassander's hegemony must have contributed significantly to the economic boom presided over by Demetrius, just as the period of relative peace which followed on from Chaeronea in 338 had been integral to the resurgence of Athens' fortunes in the Lycurgan period. Peace encouraged both trade and local agriculture, as well as easing the burdens imposed on the local economy by military activity.[80] At the same time, the peace was itself something that could prove politically awkward for Demetrius, since it came at the price of the loss of Athenian independence: it was a peace secured through submission to Cassander. Economic profitability and industry gained at the price of political freedom is a topos

[80] Compare Oliver 2007, 52 on the healthy state of Piraeus trade during Demetrius' decade.

found similarly in the treatments of the oligarchy of Phocion, which had yielded Athens' independence to Antipater: Phocion is said to have encouraged farming, thereby discouraging would-be war-mongers from political involvement (Plut. *Phoc.* 29.4), and Diodorus (18.18.6) goes on to link explicitly the prosperity of the state in the period 322–319 with the peaceful circumstances that then prevailed.[81]

The material prosperity of Athens under Demetrius is made much of by both Demetrius himself and his critics, not, I would argue, because it was an actual focus of Demetrius' reforms, but because that prosperity was on the one hand something that Demetrius could claim to his credit, and yet it was so intimately bound up with the peace and military inactivity that Athens enjoyed under Cassander's hegemony. Prosperity was, as a result, one of the key outcomes of the regime contended between Demetrius and his opponents, an outcome simultaneously favourable to Demetrius yet nevertheless capable of being turned against him. That it was indeed the occasion for a direct exchange of views is clear from Polybius, who alludes to both sides of the debate (at 12.13.9–11 = Demetr. 89 SOD). For Demetrius' part, we have the testimony of Demochares that Demetrius boasted of Athens' prosperity;[82] in reply, Demochares made explicit the connection between that prosperity and Athens' subjugation.[83] Thus Polybius:

> That man (Demochares) did after all make no trifling accusation against him (Demetrius) in his historical work…The allegation is that he

[81] The encouragement of agriculture (particularly by tyrants and oligarchs) as a distraction from political activism has a long pedigree: see Arist. *Pol.* 1319a26–32; 1292b25–29; 1318b9–19. It is ascribed particularly to Peisistratus: so [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 16.3; the similar policy attributed to Periander of Corinth (Diog. Laert. 1.98; Nic. Dam. *FGrHist.* 90 F58) may have had a political aspect too.

[82] There may be traces of self-justification about the peace, that prerequisite of prosperity, in Demetrius' insistence that the Spartan legislator Lycurgus never engaged in military activity. So Plut. *Lyc.* 23 = Demetr. 113 SOD, with Wehrli's commentary on his Demetrius F89.

[83] Demochares' condemnation here of Demetrius' procession (surely that of the Great Dionysia of 308, conducted while Demetrius was archon) has overtones of 'bread and circuses for the masses.' Demochares thereby moves to highlight the city's political and military subjugation as the price of the perceived benefits of Demetrius' rule. There are continuities here with the criticisms levelled against the Athenians by Demochares' uncle, Demosthenes, in his third Olynthiac oration. Wishing to liberate for war the monies held in the Theoric fund (the Athenian state fund which paid for citizens' festival attendances), Demosthenes linked the political and military incapacity of the Athenian *dêmos* with its prosperity and its love of theatrical spectacles, and he blamed those allegedly favouring a compromise with Macedon for implementing this 'bread and circuses' policy: see esp. Dem. 3.31.

> (Demetrius) used to boast about the fact that in the city many things could be bought at reasonable prices and that provisions were abundantly available to all. Also that he (Demetrius) was not ashamed of the fact that an automated snail led his procession, spitting out saliva, and that to cap it all donkeys were sent right through the theatre; nor indeed that the city had ceded the championship of all the ideals of Hellas to the others...

The experience of Athens—and indeed of Demochares himself—after the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum will have fuelled this polemical exchange. In the aftermath of its liberation in 307, Athens experienced renewed hardships and shortages of food; it was, at the same time, a period in which Athens was reasserting her renewed political and military independence (although these would ultimately prove transitory). Demochares himself was at the centre of this reinvigoration: a decree honouring him, [Plut.] *Mor.* 851d–f, documents the levying of a direct property tax which financed the rebuilding of the city walls (cf. *IG* ii^2 505), for which Demochares was an overseer. This subsequent history may be important. In his commentary on the fragments of Demochares' writings, Marasco sees the attack on Demetrius' economic success as an implicit apology for the period of deprivation suffered by Athens in the post-Phalerean period, and particularly in the period during which Demochares himself was influential.[84] A mechanical snail was no proper investment of ingenuity or resources in an age where such investments were better directed to siege-engines and fortifications. Demetrius could thus be castigated for his failure to direct revenue towards military supplies, as this provided a marked contrast to Demochares' own position.

As observed above (191), Duris of Samos also seizes upon Demetrius' financial success. He too associates this success with Demetrius' Macedonian links. Duris alleges that Demetrius misused the state's wealth on splendid parties, in the cost of the dinners at which

> he surpassed the Macedonians; in their refinement (he surpassed) the Cyprians and Phoenicians. Showers of perfume fell on the ground and many of the floors in the men's quarters were decorated with flowers, arranged in colourful patterns by craftsmen.

[84] Marasco 1984, 90. Athens' ability to feed herself in the period after 307 was compromised by Cassander's invasions of the Attic *khora*, and later by Poliorcetes' blockade of the Piraeus: see Oliver 2007, 52–54, 116–19, cf. 256–57 on *IG* ii^2 480 + 479 and the holding of a *sitônia* in the year 305/4.

The malicious assimilation of Demetrius with the Macedonians is here overt and explicit. It just might also be operating at a more subtle and implicit level, if the flower-strewn floors are to be taken as a reference to mosaic work;[85] it was, after all, in Macedonia, and particularly in the court city of Pella, that some of the most spectacular mosaic floors of the late fourth century were to be found, some of them adorning what was probably a men's dining room.[86] The Pella mosaics were certainly well known enough to encourage imitation,[87] and it is tempting to suppose that Demetrius' ornately decorated floors were so inspired. If so, even this detail of Duris' criticism may function to implicate Demetrius in the extravagance of his backers, giving a negative political twist to the prosperity of his reign.

Peace, prosperity and the Macedonian influence: all clearly linked, these had become the centre of a tussle between Demetrius and his opponents for the moral high-ground. It is in this sense that economic issues are important to the period. Concerns for the security of Athenian trade may also have driven some of Athens' very limited foreign policy at this time, as shall be argued below (chapter six). We need not go further, and believe that Demetrius engaged in any restructuring of the Athenian liturgical system, or that he legislated for any other financial controls in order to protect the financial interests of particular echelons of Athenian society. That his reforms had such an aspect has been too readily accepted, encouraged no doubt by Peripatetic ideas favouring the moneyed élite and finding fault with some liturgies. Such an interpretation is simply not supported by the evidence.

[85] Robertson 1965, 84–85 understands the description as a reference to mosaic work; the contrary suggestion of Börker 1978 that Duris was writing of floors strewn with fresh flowers, not mosaics, has been already answered by Bruneau 1985.
[86] See, for example, Petsas 1978, 27–30.
[87] As at Chalcis: Sampson 1975.

CHAPTER FIVE

PHILOSOPHY AND THE PHALEREAN REGIME

5.1 *Demetrius' laws and the Peripatos*

A pervasive influence of his philosophical education on Demetrius' legislative programme has, until Gehrke's thorough critique of the issue, been widely assumed in the scholarly literature. That education is well documented. The *Suda* entry describes him as "a Peripatetic philosopher" first and foremost, while many sources record the student/teacher relationship between Demetrius and Theophrastus, and claim that the former was renowned for his wisdom: see Demetr. 8–11 SOD. There is no doubting that Demetrius shared the intellectual pursuits of other Peripatetics, since much of his extensive literary output (most of it now known only through titles) has precedents and parallels in the works of fellow members of the Lyceum,[1] and his familiarity with philosophical treatises and dialogues is evident throughout the fragments of his work.[2] Moreover, at *Brutus* 37 and *De Officiis* 1.1.3 (= Demetr. 119 & 121 SOD), Cicero affirms that Demetrius' literary style was a product of his Peripatetic schooling and revealed him as very much the pupil of Theophrastus. In the light of such claims, the pervasive influence of philosophy on Demetrius is scarcely to be doubted. But the fact that Demetrius engaged in researches in fields similar to those that interested other students of Aristotle, while suggesting an adherence to Peripatetic methodology, does not establish that Demetrius' conclusions were those of his colleagues.[3] Sufficient

[1] The Peripatetic influence is amply catalogued by Williams 1987, esp. 92; cf. Mossé 1992, 89–90. It may be noted in passing (with Scholz 1998, 188 n. 13) that Demetrius' output in fields we might today recognize as properly philosophical (as distinct from the legal, rhetorical and constitutional treatise forms in which the Peripatos also engaged, and in which Demetrius was a significant contributor) was somewhat undistinguished: Scholz categorizes his philosophical writings as little more than 'class notes' from student days under Aristotle and Theophrastus.

[2] He frequently uses images drawn from philosophical literature: compare, for example, Polyb. 10.24.7 (= Demetr. 90 SOD, from his *Stratêgika*) and Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.7.

[3] The assumption of some kind of 'Peripatetic consensus' on any given issue is dangerous. That there was, for example, a standard (hostile) Peripatetic view on

fragments survive from the writings of both Theophrastus and Demetrius to demonstrate that they disagreed on individual issues. They were at odds, for instance, about the alleged poverty of that famous fifth-century figure, Aristides the Just.[4] This discrepancy, although on a minor matter, ought nonetheless caution against the assumption that Demetrius adopted uncritically the views of his teacher; consideration of the comic poet Menander, and of Duris of Samos—both schooled by Theophrastus but neither bound by that association to support Demetrius' reforms[5]—should sound a yet stronger note of caution.

As a result, a philosophical basis for the reforms should not simply be assumed without discussion, and indeed Gehrke argues that the Peripatos' impact may have been confined to the exposure to different constitutional models that Demetrius' school researches would have afforded.[6] The collection of laws which appears as fragment 611 in Rose's *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, for example, includes instances of the types of laws which interested Demetrius: at 611, 73, are recorded restrictions on wedding feasts (both on guest numbers and duration), and at 611, 28 is a record of Aristides of Ceos' regulation of boys, women and mourning. Mention might also be made of Theophrastus' three-volume work *Peri nomothetôn*, which included passages on the laws of Zaleucus, another lawgiver accredited with reforms similar to those of Demetrius, or again of his twenty-four book *Nomoi*.[7] As the author of works on the Athenian laws and constitutions himself (*Peri tês Athênêsi nomothesias* and *Peri tôn Athênêsi politeiôn* = Demetr. 88 nos 7 & 9 SOD, with associated fragments) Demetrius was certainly familiar with the moralising legislation associated with the former legislators. Beyond this very general influence through exposure to differing legislative models, Gehrke admits little impact of schooling on

Alexander (so Chroust 1973, 89–91) has been fundamentally challenged by Badian 1958, esp. 153–57.

[4] Demetrius denied the poverty of Aristides (Plut. *Arist.* 1.1–4 = Demetr. 102 SOD), but it was accepted by Aristotle (whose view is implicit in his belief that Myrto, daughter of Aristides the Just, was dowerless: Diog. Laert. 2.26) and by Theophrastus (*Vat. Gr.* 2306 = Theophr. App. 7 FHS&G Fr. B col. I, ll.26–36).

[5] On Menander's reference to the *gunaikonomos* see above, 67 cf. Handley 1965, 9–10; for Duris, above 194–95. For Duris and his brother Lynceus as students of Theophrastus see Theophr. 18 nos 9 & 10 FHS&G.

[6] Compare Haake (2007) 67–82.

[7] Theophrastus' discussion of Zaleucus is attested at Cic. *De Leg.* 2.15, and *Ad Att.* 6.1.18 = Theophr. 598 B–C FHS&G. For his *Nomoi* see also 589 no. 171a–c FHS&G.

Demetrius. For those of Demetrius' laws which intruded into Athenians' private lives, he is unwilling to see any debt to Plato's notion that the state should regulate individual behaviour, a notion stated most memorably at *Nomoi* 780a. He draws attention instead to the proliferation of interest in legislating private behaviour attested in Greece from the fourth century on, and suggests that Demetrius was reacting to historical examples, not to theoretical precepts taught in the schools.[8]

It is certainly the case that near-contemporary legislation throughout the Greek world often provides a closer parallel for individual items of Demetrius' legislation than do passages from philosophical writings. For example, when framing his restriction on burial monuments, Demetrius might have drawn just as easily on analogous laws both in Athens and in other states as on any philosophical precepts, as Gehrke argues.[9] His law owes no clear debt to Plato's suggested law (*Nomoi* 958e) restricting the tomb to one that could be built by five men in five days, and limiting the monument to one large enough to fit an epitaph of four hexameters. Nor is there reason to believe,[10] on the basis of Peripatetic wills containing requests for a modest funeral, that concern for burial luxury was an interest peculiar to that philosophical establishment. In the absence of complete wills from non-philosophers, it is impossible to be sure that requests for moderation were peculiar to philosophical wills,[11] nor are the terms of the wills framed in a fashion that corresponds precisely to Demetrius' legislation. Theophrastus merely required that his burial not be ostentatious, with no unnecessary outlay on funeral or monument (Diog. Laert. 5.53) while both Straton and Lycon, who succeeded Theophrastus in turn as head of the Peripatetic school, asked simply for avoidance of excess or meanness (Diog. Laert. 5. 61, 5.70). Such a call for restraint was hardly new: the burial laws from diverse Greek states stipulated moderation in mourning and burial practice, in keeping with religious decorum (thus Charondas is alleged to have enshrined in law that mourning was not to be '*huper to metron*': Stobaeus 4.2.24). If anything, the wills

---

[8] The general trend towards increased authoritarianism is discussed by Wallace 1997.

[9] See above, 48ff; 94ff.

[10] As Ferguson 1911b, 269 and Cohen 1926, 88 seem to do. Their view has been rejected already by Bayer 1942, 61ff and Gehrke 1978, 169.

[11] Wills are sometimes quoted by the orators, but usually in cases of disputed inheritance, and only the clauses relevant to the division of property are mentioned: so Dem. 45.28; 36.34.

of Theophrastus, Straton and Lycon should probably be seen as reflections of, rather than influences on, Demetrius' legislation: after all, all three authors of the wills died after Demetrius' laws were enacted, and it is perhaps significant that Aristotle, who died before the reforms, made no analogous request for moderation in his will.[12] The request for a modest funeral may have become a common one after sumptuous burials were in fact forbidden by law.

Rather than looking for an essentially theoretical impetus for the reform, we would perhaps be better served to follow the testimony of Cicero, who paraphrases Demetrius himself to the effect that he was reacting against contemporary extravagances in Athenian burial practice. Thus Cicero *De Legibus* 2.66 = Demetr. 53 SOD:

> But again the same Demetrius says that the magnificence of funerals and graves increased to roughly what it is now in Rome, a custom on which he himself placed legal restrictions.

That Demetrius' burial laws should be understood against the backdrop of fourth-century Athenian experience, and in particular against the Macedonian influence in Athens at that time, has been argued extensively above (58ff). While the restriction of funerary excess was quite consistent with the ideals espoused by the philosophers, and while such ideals may have conditioned Demetrius' response to the luxury he witnessed around him, it is unnecessary to assume that the primary impetus for reform came simply from them.

In the case of Demetrius' banquet law, there is similarly no clear reason to suppose a philosophical foundation, despite earlier scholars' attempts to see a clear origin in Plato's championing of the limitation on guest numbers at weddings (*Nomoi* 775a).[13] Again Gehrke has already noted that Demetrius' law diverges from Plato both in its particulars and in its general purpose: Plato set the number of guests at twenty, and prescribed the relationship of the guests to the hosts; moreover Plato's restriction features among a list of provisions which are applied specifically to wedding feasts, and which are justified in terms of the purposes of marriages, whereas Demetrius' law applied more broadly to private religious banquets, or *thusiai*.[14] Gehrke argues instead that

---

[12] For Aristotle, Diog. Laert. 5.11.

[13] A Platonic influence was identified by Bayer 1942, 55–56.

[14] Gehrke 1978, 165–66. In Lynceus' anecdote related about the *gunaikonomoi*, the protagonist goes to a *wedding*; similarly the lines from Menander apply to a *wedding*

historical precedent is the key. Well attested from the Roman world,[15] limitations of guest numbers are known to have existed also in the Greek. An interlocutor in a dialogue in the Plutarchan corpus gives the impression that restrictions on wedding banquets were not, in fact, uncommon (*Mor.* 666e), and individual examples of regulation of banquets are found, although only rarely is a specific restriction on guest numbers itself attested. One such guest limitation (set at ten guests, and an equal number of women) is referred to in a constitutional treatise of Aristotle (611 F73 Rose).[16] The regulation of banquets in general terms is mentioned for Methymna; the exact provisions are not known, only that Cleomis (its tyrant) put an end to the sumptuous feasts for which his city was noted (Theop. *FGrHist.* 115 F227).[17] The enactment here of restrictive laws, which may have been enforced by Methymnan *gunaikonomoi*, might have provided some sort of model for Athens; Cleomis was, at any rate, known to the Athenians, who granted him proxeny status ca. 345.[18] The possibility of banquet laws existing in Syracuse and in Periander's Corinth has been noted in an earlier context, as has the possible scrutiny of religious feasts by a *gunaikonomos* and a *diakonos* in late third/early second century Thasos.[19]

Gehrke's essential point, that historical examples and contemporary trends may have contributed to the shaping of Demetrius' reforms, needs to be given due credence. Yet the question of philosophical influences remains at a more complex level, because it is difficult to distinguish clearly the historical trend from the rise of philosophical schools.[20] Just such an interweaving of influences can be isolated within

---

feast. But credence must be given to the more legalistic outline of Philochorus, who has these officials supervise gatherings for weddings *and other thusiai*.

15 Thus the *Leges Orchia de coenis* (of 181, limiting the number of banqueters: Macrob. *Sat.* 2.13); *Fannia cibaria* (of 161, limiting expenditure on banquets and guest numbers: Gell. 2.24.2; 20.1.23. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.13; Pliny *N.H.* 10.139); *Didia sumptuaria* (of 143: Macrob. *Sat.* 2.13; Plin. *N.H.* 10.50, 139).

16 This law is perhaps to be associated with Iasos (cf. Gehrke 1978, 168).

17 The manuscript reading gives the name as Cleomenes, but the identification with the tyrant Cleomis is, to my knowledge, undisputed. Cleomis put an end to the Methymnians' profligacy in banquets and in drinking habits; Theopompus credits him also with a stricture against procuresses and courtesans, whereby such women were cast into the sea.

18 *IG* ii^2 284 for Cleomis and Athens. For a *gunaikonomos* at Methymna, see Garland 1981, 138.

19 Pouilloux 1954, no. 154.

20 See already Wallace 1997, 232; he argues that, after the Social War, "a marked authoritarian element emerged in Athenian democratic government, especially in the

a purely Athenian context. It has been argued above that much of Demetrius' legislation can be seen as an extension of developments introduced by Lycurgus, with the *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* active in areas in which Lycurgus took an interest (either as a prosecutor or legislator): hence a historical precedent. Lycurgus himself, however, is alleged by a number of authorities to have been a student of Isocrates and Plato; significantly, one contemporary source, Philiscus, explicitly links Lycurgus' political activity with his education at the Academy.[21]

Further, a philosophical influence has been posited even for the centres beyond Athens which imposed moral legislation in the fourth century. With its provisions for funerals, banquets and (possibly) dress codes enforced by *gunaikonomoi*, fourth century Thasos is the centre which perhaps most resembles Demetrius' Athens.[22] These Thasian laws may themselves have been influenced by Plato, whose connection with Thasos is traced through the figure of Leodamas of Thasos (Diog. Laert. 3.24). The eleventh Platonic epistle is addressed to one Leodamas who, as a leading oikist on a colonising mission, had applied to Plato for advice on establishing a constitution. The Leodamas of the letter has been identified as Leodamas of Thasos, and the settlement venture associated with the establishment of Datus in 360.[23] The authenticity of the eleventh letter, and the further association of the addressee with Leodamus of Thasos, cannot be established definitively;[24] but in the light of the documented Thasian regulations it is interesting, nonetheless, that the only advice Plato offers to Leodamas is that successful government is impossible without some authority concerned with the daily life to see that both slave and free live soberly and manfully. The

---

rise of powerful, new executive elective offices. The schools of Plato and Isocrates supplied politicians for these positions. Hence during most years from 336 to 307 politically conservative students of philosophy or rhetoric were at the head of Athens' government. These politicians were trained not in Athens' democratic traditions of personal freedoms…but [trained] to control the population and constrain good behaviour."

[21] Philiscus is cited by Olympiodorus *in Pl. Gorg.* 515c (pp. 197–98 Norvin). See also Diog. Laert. 3.46; [Plut.] *Mor.* 841b, 848d.

[22] For Thasian funerals, Pouilloux 1954 no. 141; banquets, no. 154; dress codes, no. 155. Thasos had also *nomophulakes* (*BCH* 52 (1928) 55 no. 6, of the late fourth or early third centuries); their duties are unclear.

[23] On which, see Fredrich in his introductory notes on Thasos in *IG* xii.8 p. 79.

[24] The identification is rejected by Gehrke 1978, 191–92, who gives the relevant bibliography.

types of laws and magistracies found in Thasos suggest just such a regulation of behaviour. Furthermore, a philosophical influence on Cleomis, the tyrant of Methymna, has (although less plausibly) been suggested.[25] Some consideration might be given also to the biographical traditions on the early legislators (*nomothetai*), in whose codes are found many laws analogous to Demetrius' provisions.[26] A common element in these traditions is an association (often pupil/teacher) between the lawgiver and a philosopher; that such a philosophical influence on early moral legislation was an established motif in the literary tradition may reflect a general view of the compatibility of philosophical ideas with such laws.[27]

The relationship between laws and philosophy may, of course, be viewed from the reverse perspective: philosophers themselves could be influenced by historical precedent. Prior to Plato's formulation of his restriction of grave monuments, for instance, a similar provision was in force in Troizen,[28] and a markedly similar law (restricting tombs to those that could be built by ten men in three days) was, according to Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.64), in force in Athens at some time after Solon. Plato's recommendation need not have been informed by any one specific example, but the general possibility of influences from genuine law codes must be accommodated. Philosophical precepts and contemporary trends may form a complex nexus, with philosophical schools influencing, and in turn being influenced by, contemporary historical trends.[29] To attempt to isolate the extent of individual influences upon Demetrius may be ultimately to fall prey to unnecessary schematism.

---

[25] Cleomis was singled out for commendation by Isocrates (*Epistle* 7.8–9), but the mention is not suggestive of a prior relationship between the two; moreover, Isocrates is concerned chiefly with Cleomis' restoration of exiles, and does not mention the tyrant's luxury measures. Wallace 1997, 165–66 therefore dismisses any impact of Athenian ideas on Cleomis' reforms.

[26] See above, 94f.

[27] On the biographical accounts of the lawgivers, see Szegedy-Maszak 1978.

[28] Reverdin 1945, 112.

[29] Gottschalk 2000, 380 evaluates this interplay well with his comment that "Demetrius' debt to his school can be traced in his conviction that political and social problems could be solved by legislation, [and] in the knowledge of legal and constitutional history which enabled him to choose the most appropriate means of achieving his ends."

5.2 *The philosophical schools and political calumny*

It is clear, nonetheless, that politics and philosophy are closely intertwined in this period. The connection is one of propaganda more than of political practice. Demetrius' philosophical background was of great importance in contemporary reactions to his regime. Most notably, the backlash against the Phalerean regime by the restored democracy in 307/6 was not restricted to prosecutions of some key politicians for allegedly overthrowing the democracy, but culminated in an attempt in 307/6 to bring philosophical schools under state control (the law of Sophocles, discussed below, 213ff). This is a firm indication that Demetrius' enemies sought to target him through his philosophical associations. Demochares, one of Demetrius' most outspoken critics, spoke in favour of the law of Sophocles, and it is clear that the thrust of his argument was the denigration of philosophers, particularly in the political field; some of our material on Demetrius of Phalerum derives ultimately from this speech. Demetrius' identification as a philosopher is thus central to much of the surviving propaganda of his critics.

To a degree, the decision of Demetrius' enemies to focus upon his philosophical connections as a means of attack was purely opportunistic. Since the time of Socrates (if not before),[30] philosophers had had an uneasy relationship with the Athenian democracy. Socrates' association with Alcibiades, Critias and Charmides, men tainted by oligarchy, and his own conviction for impiety and corruption of the youth, furnished Demetrius' detractors with a ready paradigm for undermining Demetrius himself through his philosophical allegiances, irrespective of any direct philosophical influence on Demetrius' actual regime. But it was not merely the anti-Socratic tradition that fostered the use of philosophy as a tool of calumny against Demetrius. The Athenian philosophical schools, and Aristotle's Lyceum in particular, had cultivated close links with the Macedonian court throughout the second half of the fourth century.[31] Aristotle's ties with the Macedonian royal

[30] There is, of course, a whole tradition of anti-intellectualism at Athens in the fifth century, a tradition which may or may not be historical. For divergent readings of the anti-intellectual tradition, see Dover 1976, and Wallace 1996.

[31] Not only was Aristotle's school closely associated with Macedon, but many of its prominent scholars and pupils were non-Athenian: see Lynch 1972, 93–95. These factors will have encouraged Athenian suspicion of the institution as a whole.

house were well known: he had, after all, been Alexander's tutor, and had estates in Macedon.[32] His association with Antipater's family was even closer, and he named Antipater as the executor of his will (Diog. Laert. 5.11).[33] Theophrastus, meanwhile, enjoyed the friendship of Cassander and Ptolemy. These links between the Peripatetic school and the household of Antipater may have worked in Demetrius' favour in 317, encouraging Cassander to entrust him with Athens. These very links were, however, ultimately a liability, for they could be exploited by Macedonia's opponents in Athens.

And exploit them they did, both before and during Demetrius' regime. A series of attacks on the associates of Aristotle feature prominently in the years between Alexander's death and the installation of Demetrius. Aristotle himself was targeted after Alexander's death; still prior to 317 came actions against Theophrastus and indeed against Demetrius of Phalerum himself. Under Demetrius' rule, a further accusation was brought, this time against Theodorus. This spate of prosecutions merits detailed consideration here, for it forms the background against which all further assessment of the later anti-philosophical expressions against Demetrius' regime needs to be understood.[34]

Emerging repeatedly in these trials is a shadowy group of prosecutors whose backgrounds hint at the existence of a political agenda behind the trials. Theophrastus' accuser, for example, was Hagnonides (Diog. Laert. 5.37), known from other sources as an outspoken opponent of Phocion and of Antipater.[35] Leading the prosecution of Aristotle was Hagnonides' political ally Demophilus; his other known activity is as prosecutor of Phocion in 318 (Diog. Laert. 5.5; Athen. 696b). The other name to occur in the records of prosecutions is that of Demochares himself. He is not explicitly named as a prosecutor in any of the cases, but he does seem to have taken a keen interest in them, whether or not at first hand. Aelian (*V.H.* 8.12) preserves an exchange between Theophrastus and Demochares on the subject of the former's

[32] Plut. *Alex.* 7.2–8.3. Testimonia on Aristotle's relations with Philip and Alexander are compiled by Düring 1957, 284–99. That some of the anecdotes on the relationship may be later fabrications does not undermine the basic fact of the association.

[33] Again, some elements of the tradition on his relationship with Antipater are fabrications. On the alleged complicity of Aristotle and Antipater in the murder of Alexander, for example, see below, 223.

[34] Much of the following material on prosecutions has appeared already as O'Sullivan 1997a.

[35] See above 37–38, 41 for his political activity.

trial, on the basis of which the latter has been credited with a part in the prosecution;[36] it is possible, however, that Demochares' remarks about Theophrastus' trial were made rather as part of his later defence of Sophocles' law, given that it is probable that he there recounted similar information about an earlier prosecution of Demetrius of Phalerum.[37] Whatever the exact nature of Demochares' participation, the launching of attacks against the philosophers by such staunch democrats and ardent opponents of the influence of Antipater and Cassander betrays a clear political interest.

A political agenda emerges, too, from the substance of the allegations, all of which hinged on matters of impiety. Philosophers were, of course, particularly prey to such accusations: impiety featured prominently in the case against Socrates, and Plato could already claim as clichéd the levelling against philosophers of allegations of atheism (*Apol.* 23d6). Yet the spate of the alleged impieties with which we are concerned here is more than a simple and opportunistic re-use of conventional allegations against intellectuals. Rather, the charges levelled against Aristotle, Theophrastus, Demetrius and Theodorus may reveal a more complex and consistent theme, in which the prosecutors sought to link these philosophers by a common thread of impiety with the Macedonian cause, and in particular with the house of Antipater and Cassander. Demochares, Hagnonides and Demophilus were perhaps insinuating that a lack of respect for the traditional piety of Athens went hand in hand with a willingness to accommodate Macedonian interests, and that these traits were particularly to be found among those of a philosophical bent.

Launched in the immediate aftermath of the death of Alexander the Great, the case against Aristotle is the earliest of the prosecutions, and its political overtones are widely accepted. As such, it offers a convenient starting point for our discussion. It was alleged, on the basis of a poem he composed upon the death of his friend, the Atarnean tyrant Hermias, that Aristotle intended to deify a mortal. The offending composition was in reality addressed to personified virtue, or *Aretê*, and

[36] His role as a prosecutor is affirmed by Derenne 1930, 20 and Bauman 1990, 122.

[37] The charge against Demetrius was known to Carystius of Pergamum. It is argued below, 306–307, that Carystius of Pergamum's source of information was Demochares' speech for Sophocles. Of course, Demochares could have been both a prosecutor (of Theophrastus and / or Demetrius) and have mentioned those trials in his later speech for Sophocles: the alternatives are not mutually exclusive.

was probably designed as part of a memorial ceremony conducted by Aristotle for his dead friend.[38] That the attack was politically motivated, as an attack on a Macedonian sympathiser by the more staunchly pro-democratic Athenian elements, is generally acknowledged, and the timing certainly suggests it: the alleged hymn to Hermias belongs with the Atarnean tyrant's death in 341/40, but Aristotle was brought to trial only in 323, in the climate of anti-Macedonian fervour following Alexander's death. The charge itself was perhaps also intended to evoke Aristotle's Macedonian sympathies: Hermias of Atarneus is thought to have been a Macedonian collaborator, later executed by the Persians for rebelling against Persian rule.[39] Aristotle's accuser, Demophilus, may have formulated the charge as he did in order to highlight Aristotle's complicity with the Macedonians: not only was Aristotle himself a friend of high-ranking Macedonians in his own right, but, as Demophilus' allegation would remind his Athenian jurors, this philosopher moved among a wider circle of others who also, like Hermias, notably gained political profit from their Macedonian connections.

Two strands of Aristotle's case are significant for the subsequent calumny against Demetrius of Phalerum. One is the focus upon those with philosophical connections elevated to political power with Macedonian backing. Hermias was a student of the Academy, and he maintained his Academic associations throughout his life: two fellow former Academics, Erastus and Coriscus, were encouraged by him to set up a school in Assos. With this intellectual interest he combined an active political career, supported by Macedonian power; significantly, his political power was vested in a tyranny, and was thus politically unpalatable to the Athenians. Exempla such as his would provide material for democratic politicians keen to associate Macedonian power with tyranny, and furthermore to mark those willing to take up

[38] Wormell 1935, 61–65 on the hymn, 76 on the ceremony. On the charge against Aristotle, see Derenne 1930, 190–92.

[39] Hermias' revolt against Persia is amply attested: see Diod. 16.52.5; Polyaen. 6.48; [Arist.] *Oec.* 2.2.28. His supposed complicity with Macedon is based on Dem. 10.32, in which Demosthenes claims that the Persians had captured an agent who was privy to Philip's plots against the Persian king; Hermias is not named, but the identification is strengthened by the fact that Didymus, in his commentary on the speech, excerpted several passages from Theopompus on the Atarnean tyrant, including part of a letter denouncing Hermias to Philip. Ulpian similarly identified Demosthenes' shadowy agent as Hermias. See Wormell 1935, 55–58.

such power as the products of the philosophical schools. Demochares, as we shall see presently, was to make much of just such examples in his defence of the law of Sophocles in 307/6.

The second significant aspect of the case against Aristotle lies in the impiety itself, in Aristotle's alleged wish to honour a mortal as a god. This too may have particularly Macedonian resonances. The Macedonian leaders had been seeking to legitimise and sanctify their own power by negotiating for themselves a new paradigm of Greek kingship, one in which mortals might assume the trappings of divine worship: just prior to his death, Alexander the Great had been demanding divine and quasi-divine recognition for himself and for his favourite, Hephaestion, demands known to have prompted heated debate in Athens. In this recent climate of impassioned political and religious debate, Demophilus' allegation that Aristotle had offered divine recognition to Hermias marks out Aristotle with a particularly Macedonian tendency.

Alexander was not, of course, the only Macedonian to advocate divine honours: one could think here too of Harpalus' establishment in Babylon of a temple to his dead mistress, Pythionice, as Aphrodite, and his commissioning of a *temenos*-style memorial for her in Attica (see above, 62).[40] It is in fact through the example of Harpalus that the direct relationship between the behaviour of the Macedonians and the attacks in Athens against the philosophers is most clearly seen. Aristotle was also alleged to have sacrificed to his dead wife, Pythias, just as the Athenians sacrificed to Demeter (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.2, Diog. Laert. 5.4). This claim, which might even have featured as one of the formal charges brought against Aristotle in 322 (given that one of the prosecutors, Eurymedon, was a hierophant and thus naturally concerned with offences against Demeter),[41] may well have been founded in large measure on Harpalus' behaviour towards the dead Pythionice: the similarity in names (with Pythias a shortened version of Pythionice) may have encouraged the transposition of the story to

[40] In a later context, one thinks of the later celebration of Demetrius Poliorcetes' favourite comrades and *hetairai* with religious cult. (Such, at least, is claimed by Demochares *FGrHist.* 75 F1. Demochares is, however, the only witness for heroic and divine cult around Demetrius Poliorcetes' associates: see further Mikalson 1998, 88.)

[41] Diogenes Laertius' source, Aristippus, reports the Pythias story immediately before mentioning the paean to Hermias, the latter being one of the known formal charges. On the other hand, the Pythias / Demeter story is not included in the passages which treat directly with the legal proceedings of 322.

Aristotle.[42] It was an accusation, moreover, that further served to underscore Aristotle's relationship with that other Macedonian sympathiser, Hermias of Atarneus, since Pythias was related in some way to that tyrant (either as daughter or niece: Diog. Laert. 5.4).[43]

The creation of new gods, and with it, the undermining of the old: such seems to be the core of the attacks employed against the Macedonians and their alleged sympathisers by those who rejected the notion of any Athenian submission to Macedonian power. It was a line of attack well suited to the political climate of the late 320s in Athens, for it united in its sweep two groups, the Macedonian élite and the Athenian philosophical schools, already made suspect by their mutual association. The usurpation of divine prerogative by Macedonian mortals was at the forefront of political discourse, and, given the established vulnerability of intellectuals to accusations of impiety, allegations of similarly impious tendencies could easily be brought to bear against those philosophers who had proved ready to accommodate the Macedonians' interests. Little wonder, then, that we find further echoes of the case against Aristotle in two subsequent interludes: one, an allegation levelled against Demetrius of Phalerum himself, another in the case, brought probably during the brief 'democratic' interval between the regimes of Phocion and of Demetrius,[44] against the philosopher Theophrastus.

All but the outlines of Theophrastus' trial are shadowy. Without detailing the specifics of the charge, Diogenes Laertius (5.37) tells us merely that Theophrastus was prosecuted for impiety; there may, however, be a hint of the pretext in the exchange between Theophrastus and Demochares concerning the trial, an exchange recounted by Aelian (*V.H.* 8.12). Theophrastus, whose case was apparently being

---

[42] So Mulvany 1926, 157, who suggests further that the association of Demeter might have arisen from the fact that Aristotle's will (Diog. Laert. 5.16) orders his executors to see to the dedication of his mother's statue to Demeter.

[43] Aristippus (above, n. 41) made the accusation more salacious by having Pythias a concubine of Hermias, and by claiming that Aristotle sacrificed to her while alive rather than after her death (as the story originally went—so Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.20, drawing on Aristotle's near-contemporary, Lycon). On this 'improvement' of the story, see Wormell 1935, 87–88.

[44] A chronological pointer is the involvement of Hagnonides as one of the accusers, since he did not survive long into the Phalerean period: he was condemned for his part in the execution of Phocion (so Plut. *Phoc.* 38.1) and is last attested ca. December, 318, on *IG* ii^2 448. For detailed discussion of the context, see O'Sullivan 1997a, 136–38.

heard by the Areopagus, fell speechless before that august body and later attributed this failure to being overwhelmed by its majesty, whereupon Demochares retorted "they were Athenians, Theophrastus, not the twelve gods, who were judging you." Demochares' acerbic allusion to the 'Olympian twelve', a group which formed a significant subset of the gods officially recognised at Athens,[45] may imply that Theophrastus' alleged offence had some connection with a failure to recognise the traditional deities.[46]

If some alleged undermining of the twelve gods was indeed the basis of the charge against Theophrastus, some interesting parallels emerge, parallels that serve to underscore Theophrastus' perceived connections with Macedonian power. The example of Demades comes particularly to mind. An Athenian politician who had enjoyed great prominence in the 322 oligarchy until his execution by Antipater in late 319, Demades had been successfully prosecuted just before Alexander's death for his promotion of that king's deification. At *V.H.* 5.12, Aelian provides a very specific version of this earlier case against Demades: he wished, so it was alleged, to make Alexander the thirteenth god.[47] The notion of some interference with 'the twelve gods' thus seems to features in the accusations against both Demades and Theophrastus, and this recurrence may not be entirely coincidental; those prosecuting Theophrastus perhaps formulated their charge in such a way as to recall to memory Demades' outrageous advocacy of Alexander and consequent condemnation. Moves to increase the number of the twelve Olympians have, of course, an even longer tradition in the Macedonian context: we might recall, in this connection, that Philip II was assassinated during a procession in which his own image was being paraded alongside those of the twelve gods (Diod. 16.92.5). Hagnonides' attempt to implicate Theophrastus in a questioning of the traditionally venerated gods, if that indeed was what his case alleged, would locate this philosopher clearly within the orbit of Macedonia and its Athenian sympathisers.

---

[45] Little is known of the identity of the twelve in this period. For their relationship to the official Athenian gods, and the suggestion that the twelve (at least originally) presided over Athens' external relations, see the bibliography accumulated by Atkinson 1973, nn. 14, 42, 71.

[46] Bauman 1990, 122 comes to a similar conclusion.

[47] For Demades, see also Plut. *Phoc.* 26.2, Diod. 18.18.1–2, *Suda s.v. Dêmadês*; Athen. 251b.

Demetrius of Phalerum himself was drawn too into this orbit, for Carystius of Pergamum (who is probably drawing on the authority of Demochares) seems to allude to an abortive attempt to prosecute Demetrius when he reports (Athen. 542e–f = Demetr. 43A SOD):

> When Himeraeus, the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum, had been killed by Antipater, Demetrius dwelt with Nicanor, being accused of offering sacrifices for his brother's epiphany (*aitian echôn hôs ta epiphaneia tou adelphou thuôn*).

The accusation, the dramatic context of which is clearly the period of the overthrow of Phocion's regime,[48] bears all the hallmarks of the allegations against Aristotle and Theophrastus. For one, it played upon Demetrius' collaboration with the Macedonians, and with it his betrayal of the champions of Athenian autonomy. Demetrius had, after all, connived at Himeraeus' death, for he was one of the Athenian envoys who, in negotiations with Antipater after Crannon in 322, had acceded to the latter's call for the death of the anti-Macedonian orators, of whom Himeraeus was one.[49] Further, the Nicanor with whom Demetrius is supposed to have sought refuge is surely to be identified with the commander of the Macedonian garrison in Munychia, who was appointed to this post by Cassander immediately after Antipater's death in autumn 319 (Plut. *Phoc.* 31.1–2) and who later (in the campaign season of 318) commanded Cassander's fleet in the Bosporus (Diod. 18.68.1, 72.3–8). Formulated as it was, the charge recalled to public memory the least humane precondition of Antipater's settlement of Athens, namely the execution of the leading opposition orators; it also played upon another much-despised aspect of Macedonian hegemony, the presence of a garrison.

The accusation also falls within the well-worked tradition of ascribing to the Macedonians and their philosophical sympathisers a misapplication of divine honours. The precise formulation of the charge, that Demetrius offered sacrifices for his brother's epiphany (*ta epiphaneia*

---

[48] The timing is fixed in part by the presence in Athens of Nicanor, on which see below. (Demetrius' flight is thus part of a more general exodus of those implicated in some way with Phocion's regime: compare Plut. *Phoc.* 33.) His absence from Athens later in 318 is confirmed by the fact that he was condemned *in absentia* when Phocion and his partisans were prosecuted for treason by Hagnonides (Plut. *Phoc.* 35.2).

[49] Demetrius' participation in the embassies is attested in Demetrius *De elocutione* 289 (= Demetr. 12 SOD), and alluded to in citations from Demetrius' own works in Philodemus' rhetorical writings: see Demetr. 131A–C SOD. See also above, 24ff.

tou adelphou thuôn), is admittedly most unusual (indeed Carystius here furnishes the only attested use of the plural *ta epiphaneia*) but the general sense is clear: the cognate singular *hê epiphaneia* is commonly used of the manifestation of a god to a worshipper,[50] so the claim then is that Demetrius, attempting perhaps to assuage a guilty conscience, treated his brother as a god after his death and so committed sacrilege. The crux of the charge therefore echoes the earlier accusations against Demetrius' political and philosophical associates; the resonance with the charge that Aristotle sacrificed to Pythias is particularly close.[51] The instigator of the accusation against Demetrius patently sought to align him in the alleged impieties of his political and philosophical colleagues, with their introduction of new gods in both the public and private sphere.

What this pattern of accusations against Aristotle, Theophrastus and Demetrius demonstrates is that the anti-Macedonian elements in Athens, even before Demetrius' elevation to power, had an established mode for attacking the philosophers in Athens for their relations with Macedonia: the religious innovation among the Macedonian élite, with their use of divine trappings to consolidate their monarchic power, combined well with the philosophers' vulnerability to charges of impiety, and so encouraged this line of attack. The impiety alleged against Aristotle, Theophrastus and Demetrius—their 'creation of new gods', or their challenging of the established Athenian pantheon—established them as Macedonian sympathisers and collaborators. Thus, even prior to 317, the Peripatos was compromised through the personal associations of key members, such as Aristotle and Theophrastus, with Macedon (or, more particularly, with the house of Antipater); Cassander's elevation of Demetrius will merely have confirmed this perceived nexus between philosophy and Macedonian collaboration.

As a result, when Demetrius continues, both during and after his rule, to be targeted for his philosophical connections, we cannot simply conclude that the attacks were founded upon any specifically philosophical tendency in his rule itself, or that his reforms were directly

---

[50] See LSJ *s.v. epiphaneia* 'esp. of deities appearing to a worshipper'.

[51] There is a further faint resonance in a jibe against Alexander's treasurer, Harpalus: the comic poet Python (Athen. 595f) claimed that some eastern magi had convinced him that they could lure up from the Underworld Harpalus' dead mistress, Pythionice.

informed by his Peripatetic education.[52] Rather, his opponents were sustaining a line of criticism already well entrenched, a line to which the Athenian public may have been receptive. Demetrius' continued vulnerability to criticisms of this kind is glimpsed in the account of his activities as archon in 309/8, when, as organiser of the Dionysian procession, he was hailed by the processional chorus as "eminently well-born" (*exokhôs eugenetas*) and "shaped like the sun" (*hêliomorphos*) (Athen. 542e = Demetr. 43A SOD). These verse accolades, of which the second comes rather close to assigning to the archon divine attributes, are cited in a passage of criticisms levelled against Demetrius, and we may assume that the authority who recorded them (probably Duris or Demochares) sought to tarnish Demetrius' image once more by suggesting an accretion of divine prerogatives.[53] Moreover, a move to prosecute the philosopher Theodorus during the Phalerean period may be yet another indication of an ongoing campaign of this nature. Theodorus was accused of atheism and of corrupting the young (so Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 127ff). This is standard anti-philosophical fare, and the views ascribed to Theodorus by the ancient sources (Diog. Laert. 2.99 relates his justifications of adultery, theft and sacrilege) may have roused the ire of many good citizens. Nonetheless, the undercurrents of the case may well have been political, for Theodorus is reported to have had links, albeit tenuous, with Phocion's son (Plut. *Phoc.* 38.2).[54] At any rate, Demetrius of Phalerum was moved to intervene in the affair, thereby saving Theodorus (according to one version of the episode at Diod. Laert. 2.101 = Demetr. 48 SOD)[55] from appearing before an Areopagite enquiry.

That philosophical association continued to provide an avenue for political attack in the wake of Demetrius' domination is most clearly demonstrated by the promulgation by Sophocles of Sunium in 307 of a law restricting philosophical schools in Athens. Three sources mention this statute: Diogenes Laertius (5.38), Pollux (9.42) and Athenaeus

[52] Except, perhaps, for the general belief that philosophical education encouraged tyrannical tendencies, on which, see below.

[53] O'Sullivan 2008b, 83–86.

[54] For detailed discussion of Theodorus' connections, and the possible date and political background of his trial, see my arguments in O'Sullivan 1997a, 142–46.

[55] That he was executed in Athens, as Amphicrates (*ap.* Diog. Laert. 2.101) claims, is ruled out by his later appearances at the court of Lysimachus, on which see Philodemus *De Mort.* col. xxxii.23, Stobaeus vol. iii p. 316 f (ed. Hense), Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* 1.102, 5.117, Val. Max. 6.2 *ext.*3, and Plut. *Mor.* 499d, 606b.

(610e, based on Carystius). In the form known to Diogenes Laertius, Sophocles' law forbade the establishment of a philosophical school without the permission of the assembly and council; failure to comply with this was punishable by death. Diogenes' understanding of the scope of the law is probably to be preferred to that of Pollux, who presents a more draconian version which, by omitting mention of the requisite official authorisation, casts the law as an outright prohibition against philosophical institutions.[56] According to Carystius, the law was soon challenged. Philon, a student of Theophrastus, prosecuted Sophocles for enacting an illegal measure and, despite the efforts of Demochares in defence, the law was overturned and Sophocles fined.[57] Whilst the anti-philosophical implications of the law itself should not be overstated—the law probably fell short of prohibiting the schools outright—its short-term impact on the Athenian philosophical scene was marked: many philosophers, most notably Theophrastus, quit the city (Diog. Laert. 5.38). Moreover, a fragment from Alexis' play *Hippeus* (Alexis F99 KA), a play produced while the short-lived law was still in effect, confirms that, in popular perception, Sophocles' law was regarded as a forthright expulsion of the intellectuals: So the speaker in the *Hippeus*:

> May the gods grant many blessings to Demetrius and the legislators, for they have thrown out of Attica to the crows (*es korakas erriphasin ek tês Attikês*) the men who transmit to our youth the power of discourse, as they call it.

Although neither Diogenes nor Pollux offers a firm date for Sophocles' law, the circumstantial details indicate a context in early 307/6, and this temporal setting suggests that it was a direct response to Demetrius'

---

[56] While the overall impression of Diogenes' more detailed version is to be preferred, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 270 n. 6 maintains that Pollux does retain the original wording of part of the law. On the implication and targets of the law, see O'Sullivan 2002.

[57] Sophocles' measure *may* have been a law (*nomos*: so Pollux, and Diogenes) rather than a decree (*psêphisma*: so Athenaeus), but Diogenes' further information that Sophocles was subject to *graphê paranomon* proceedings is more readily reconciled with a *psêphisma*. To that extent, Athenaeus' terminology is perhaps to be preferred, even over that of the contemporary poet Alexis, whose verses from his play *Hippeus* of 306 (cited by Athenaeus and given below) contain a reference to the *nomothetai* expelling the philosophers. Alexis' allusion to the law cannot be pressed for technical accuracy, coming as it does from a passage of comedy in which Alexis may well be underscoring the irony of the lawgiver (*nomothetês*) Demetrius (of Phalerum) being expelled by Demetrius (Poliorcetes) and the *nomothetai*.

rule.[58] Parts of Demochares' speech in defence of Sophocles survive, many preserved in Athenaeus via the intermediary Carystius, others gathered in a collection of early calumniators of Aristotle compiled by Aristocles and later preserved by Eusebius,[59] and it is in these fragments that we can see most clearly how Demetrius' opponents used his philosophical associations against him, and manipulated the traditional prejudices against philosophers.

One of Demochares' main *topoi* is the alleged predisposition of philosophers to tyranny, and of their collaboration with Macedon in the attainment of their tyrannies. The most substantial fragment of the speech (Athen. 508f–509b) catalogues students of Plato who had become tyrants, or who at least aspired to tyranny: named are Euaion of Lampsacus, Timolaus of Cyzicus,[60] and also Chaeron of Pellene.[61] This list is highly evocative of Macedonian sympathies in the philosophic establishments, for while nothing is known of the circumstances of Euaion's attempted coup in Lampsacus, Timolaus and Chaeron were both backed by Macedonian power. Chaeron's tyranny in Pellene was established with the help of Corrhagus, Alexander's deputy in the Peloponnese in the 330s (*Index Acad. Herc.* col. 11 Dorandi = Hermippus F89 Wehrli);[62] Timolaus' attempt on the Phrygian city of Cyzicus was backed by Arrhidaeus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (Trogus *Prologue* 14; Diod. 18.51.1–52.8). One is reminded by all this

[58] Epicurus' establishment of his garden in 306 (Diog. Laert. 10.2.15 = Apoll. *FGrHist.* 244 F42) suggests a terminus for the law's operation. If Theophrastus was absent from Athens for a year as a result of the law, the law must have been passed in early 307/6. Such a date is consistent with the presence in Athens of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who features in connection with the law in the above fragment of Alexis' *Hippeus* (see also Arnott 1996, F99 with discussion of the date at 858–59).

[59] See Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.2 (the material from Demochares is 15.2.6). In Athenaeus, the most extensive passage is 508f–509b; the material on Demetrius of Phalerum cited from Carystius at 542e–543a may also come ultimately from Demochares' speech, as may also the material attributed to Demochares at 215c (cf. 187d): see Düring 1987, 41 and Marasco 1984, 167.

[60] The manuscripts of Athenaeus give the names as Timaeus and Euagon, but Diog. Laert. 3.46 lists a Timolaus of Cyzicus and Euaion as pupils of Plato.

[61] Demochares' name is not explicitly appended to the material on Chaeron but few have doubted its provenance: the phrase preceding it (*toioutoi eisin kai nun tôn Akadêmaikôn tines*) is highly reminiscent of another fragment of Demochares' speech at Athen. 215c (to which Düring 1987, 41 adds Athen. 220e). Blass 1898, 338 n. 5 maintained that it came instead from Theopompus' work *Kata tês Platônos diatribês*, but it is doubtful that that work was directed at Plato's students: other fragments (listed by Flower 1994, 38 n. 49 as *FGrHist.* 115 FF259, 275, 294, 359 and perhaps 295) hint that it was rather an attack on Plato's ideas.

[62] Compare also ([Dem.] 17.10, Paus. 7.27.7).

of the emphasis on Aristotle's links with that other 'Macedonian puppet,' Hermias, in the prosecution of 322, and it is thus not surprising that Demochares made further overtly political allegations against Aristotle too in his speech of 307 (see Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.2.6): Aristotle had, he claimed, written letters to the Macedonians against Athens; he had betrayed his native city, Stagira;[63] and, after the fall of Olynthus, he had denounced its wealthiest men to Philip. Demochares' Aristotle, although not a tyrant in his own right, is thus a dangerous political quisling charged with a key rôle in the rise of Macedon: Ephorus had, after all, attributed Philip's conquests in Greece to the wealth gained from the sack of Olynthus (Diod. 16.53.3).

Demochares imbues his philosopher-tyrants with the clichéd attributes of the tyrants of literature. To Chaeron of Pellene he credits measures typical of despots, for example the expulsion of worthy citizens and the redistribution of their wealth and wives to slaves; similar accusations had been made about Cypselus and Periander of Corinth, of Dionysius I of Syracuse and of Clearchus of Heraclea.[64] Demochares makes much of the use of personal wealth in the rise to power of Euaion of Lampsacus and Timolaus of Cyzicus: the former lent money to his native city and took the Acropolis as security until the citizens paid back their debt and expelled him, while Timolaus won over the population of Cyzicus with donations of money and grain. Again, this is stereotypical tyrant behaviour. Demochares claims further that these philosopher-tyrants acquired their fortunes from impiety (*ek asebeias*)

---

[63] This allegation, and the following one about Olynthus, are almost certainly fabrications. Neither was raised against Aristotle at the time, even though Demosthenes (18.295, cf. 9.53) dealt extensively with Macedonian collaborators who had eased Philip's passage through Greece, and Diod. 16.53.2 does not name Aristotle in the context of the destruction of Olynthus. The matter is complicated too by the fact that the destruction of Stagira is itself poorly attested: Diodorus may intend Stagira when he documents Philip's destruction of a 'Geira' or 'Zeira' (16.52.9), but Hammond & Griffith 1979, 317 n. 1 defend the manuscript reading. Speaking some forty years after Aristotle's alleged misdemeanours, however, Demochares could no doubt have made his claims plausible to an Athenian audience. His allegations form part of a complex web of fictitious claim and counterclaim (Mulvany 1926, 162–63 reaches a similar judgement). The allegation about Stagira, for example, is surely to be seen in the light of other assertions that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander at Aristotle's behest and that Aristotle composed a new law code for it. (See [Plut.] *Mor.* 1126f, Dio Chrys. 2. 79, 47.9; Ael. *V.H.* 3.17, 12.54; Diog. Laert. 5.4; Ps.-Ammon. *Vita Arist.* 47, *Vita Marc.* 4; Val. Max. 5.6 ext.5; Plin. *N.H.* 7.109; Plut. *Alex.* 7.2). The relationship between these two traditions is, however, difficult to fix: was one a rejoinder to the other? And if so, which came first?

[64] For this kind of policy, see Berve 1967, 505.

and against nature (*para phusin*); this may be taken to imply that they were not initially wealthy, and such a rise from obscurity to wealth, with the subsequent use of that wealth in a bid for domination, is a commonplace in characterisation of tyrants. An interesting comparison is again afforded by the calumnies employed against Hermias of Atarneus by the fourth-century historian Theopompus. Theopompus alleged that Hermias was originally a slave of the tyrant, Eubulus, that he was a moneylender, and that he came to power unjustly and through wrongdoing (*adikôntata kai kakourgôntata*: *FGrHist.* 115 FF250, 291).[65] (Hermias' philosophical connections were not a key concern of Theopompus—Plato receives mention only as a measure of the effrontery of Hermias who, despite being a mere barbarian, affected a Greek style, studying at the Academy and racing chariots—but it is nonetheless possible that Demochares' characterisations in his speech owe something to Theopompus' portrait of Hermias.)

While Demochares' philosopher-tyrants share many features in common with standard despots, he seeks further to link their actions closely to their philosophical training. The particular association of philosophers with impiety may underlie his claim that the academic philosopher-tyrants came about their fortunes by nefarious means. Moreover, while Chaeron's alleged reforms (his granting to slaves of the property and wives of their former masters) are typical of the measures often ascribed to tyrants, Demochares nonetheless insinuates a philosophical influence behind them: "these," claims Demochares, "were the beneficial results he derived from the noble *Republic* (*kala Politeia*) and the lawless *Laws* (*paranomoi Nomoi*)." This stinging remark may be interpreted as a perversion of Plato's argument for the common ownership of goods and women; a link is thereby formed between Platonic doctrine and a behaviour already associated with tyrants.

The themes traced above in Demochares' speech are significant for an appreciation of Demochares' representation of Demetrius of Phalerum himself. From the material preserved in Athenaeus via Carystius (= Demetr. 43A SOD), Demetrius emerges as the very model of the philosopher-tyrant recognised by Demochares:

> When Himeraeus, the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum, had been killed by Antipater, Demetrius dwelt with Nicanor, being accused of

[65] On the inaccuracy of these claims, see Wormell 1935, 73.

> offering sacrifices for his brother's epiphany. By becoming a friend of Cassander, he acquired great power. In the beginning, his luncheon consisted of bowls of all kinds of olives and island cheese. But after he had become rich, he bought Moschion, the best of the cooks and caterers at that time. The meals that were prepared each day were so huge that out of the left-overs, which Demetrius gave to him by way of gratuity, Moschion bought three apartment houses within two years, and harassed freeborn boys and the wives of the most distinguished citizens. All boys were jealous of [Demetrius'] beloved, Diognis; and getting to meet Demetrius was so important to them that, when after lunch Demetrius went out for a walk along the Street of Tripods, the best-looking boys assembled there day after day in order that they might be noticed by him.

The emphasis here on Demetrius' diet is, of course, a reflection of a deeper concern: we have repeated the pattern of a tyrant's rise to power, through Macedonian support, from humble origins. (This lowly birth is elaborated by Favorinus (ap. Diog. Laert. 5.75 = Demetr. 1 SOD) and Aelian (*V.H.* 12.43 = Demetr. 4 SOD), who make him or his father a slave in the house of Conon and Timotheus; the tradition is likely to be a fabrication.)[66] Noteworthy too is the allusion, with the mention of Himeraeus, to Demetrius' alleged impious act, through which it is insinuated that he, like the other philosopher-tyrants, rose by nefarious means. The vices, for which Demochares' philosophers were conspicuous—"after gaining possession of a fortune by sacrilege (*ex asebeias*) and by unnatural courses through trickery (*para phusin…dia goêteian*), they are now looked up to," asserts the orator (Athen. 509a)—are similarly displayed by Demetrius: thus the excesses of his banquets were such that his cook, a slave, could purchase three apartments in which he seduced freeborn youths and the wives of the eminent citizens, while the handsomest Athenian youths paraded the streets to attract the attention of Demetrius himself.

The course of Demetrius' career is thus constructed as typical of an aspiring tyrant educated by the philosophical schools, and the very phrasing of the accusations against Demetrius seems designed to evoke the connections between philosophy and tyranny. When Carystius reports that Demetrius, accused of impiety, *went to live* with Nicanor, the term he uses is *dietriben*. Of this the essential meaning is beyond

---

[66] Thus above, 9–10. Allegations of servile origins were a common tool of political invective: compare Dem. 18.129; Aesch. 3.171. On the proper socio-economic background for politicians, and the discrediting of opponents' family status, see Perlman 1963, esp. 333–40.

question: Demetrius 'spent time' with Nicanor. But the verb is used also of philosophical study, and the special use of the related noun, *diatribê*, to denote a philosophical school seems to be newly arisen in the very context of the debate on Sophocles' law.[67] It is just possible that Carystius/Demochares here intends this other meaning also to be understood, and that, having perpetrated his impieties, Demetrius went off *to philosophise* with the Macedonian garrison commander.

This use of philosophical associations to undermine Demetrius is evident in other reactions against his regime, and may well have been encouraged by the example set by Demochares. Duris' description of Demetrius' "lawless" lifestyle (his *anomothetos bios*) may intend an ironic resonance with Plato, who uses *nomothetês* of the ideal legislator;[68] Duris here employs the derogatory discourse used in 307/6 by Demochares, who had railed in similar fashion against Plato and his "unlawful *Laws*." There are further echoes of this language in Favorinus' report (ap. Diog. Laert. 5.77 = Demetr. 1 SOD) that Demetrius' name was deleted from the archon list, and his year inscribed as the "year of lawlessness," a claim which Mensching, in his commentary on Favorinus, regards as reflecting a catchcry of Demetrius' democratic opponents.[69] Demochares' own anti-intellectual attack on Demetrius may not have been confined to his speech for Sophocles, but may have extended to his treatment of Demetrius in his historical work, of which a section is cited by Polybius 12.13.8ff (*FGrHist.* 75 F4 = Demetr. 89 SOD). In that later work, Demetrius is labelled a "common tax collector" (*telônês banausos*), the phrase contrasting the reality of Demetrius' nature with his nominal position as leader of his country (*prostatês tês patridos*). Demochares may here be evoking associations with the philosophical schools. The terminology *prostatês* may be meant to recall Plato's *Politeia*,[70] while it is tempting to see the use of *banausos* as a philosophical jibe, since Aristotle commonly uses this term for those who, by virtue of their trade, are unfit for political activity or full citizenship. In the light of its use by Aristotle, Demochares' application of

[67] So O'Sullivan 2002, 260–61.

[68] See above, 95–96 for Demetrius, Duris and nomothesia For Plato's use of the term, compare (among others) *Nomoi* 660a, 709d, 801d, 835a, 964b. For Dow and Travis 1943, 153 this Platonic usage was fundamental to Demetrius' adoption of the title.

[69] Mensching 1963, F54. Favorinus may have been drawing upon either Demochares or Duris: see 301.

[70] So Pédech 1961, 99, citing *Pol.* 8.565d ff.

banausos to Demetrius will have been particularly pointed: the Phalerean regime was characterised by a property qualification for citizenship, and practitioners of unprofitable trades may have been among those excluded from political life after 317. It is thus ironic, on Demochares' view, that the man established as leader of that state should himself be *banausos*.[71] Aristotle also uses the term *banausos* for those given to vulgar displays of wealth, and Demochares pointedly couples Demetrius' 'commonness' with a description of his ostentatious display at the Dionysian procession of 309.[72] The philosophically educated Demetrius is thereby cast as one who contravenes Aristotelian ideals, a ruler of state who, in the opinion of his teachers, should not have qualified even for political rights.

A further reminiscence of a philosophical tract may be intended in the connection Demochares draws in the same passage between Demetrius' lavish spectacles and the decline in Athenian political independence (this passage is treated above, 193–94). Demetrius, it is suggested, bought the political acquiescence of Athens, corrupting the citizens with the prosperity of his rule. This jibe has some resonances with a complaint made against Pericles by Plato's Socrates (*Gorg.* 515e): Pericles' state payments for jury, army and assembly attendance are cast as bribes which caused the Athenian to withdraw from political activity and to depend on mercenaries. It is possible that Demochares intended his reader to think of Plato's Pericles; Plutarch certainly coupled Demetrius with Pericles as statesmen who used lavish outlays to 'buy' favourable political outcomes, and, if the echo was indeed intended, Demochares' Demetrius would again be acting in a way which had been castigated by the philosophic schools.

It is clear therefore that some of his contemporaries made much of Demetrius' philosophical education and his affiliation with the Peripatos,

---

[71] Davies 1977/78, 120 implies that the law of Sophocles against the philosophers in 307/6 was motivated by the philosophical schools' belief in the restriction of citizenship (esp. Arist. *Pol.* 1278a, rejecting the inclusion of *banausoi* as citizens), a belief which, Davies suggests, prompted Demetrius to impose a property qualification for citizenship. The notion that Demetrius was responsible for the census is problematic: see above, 115. It is still possible that Demetrius' opponents sought to implicate him closely in the disenfranchisements, and attempted further to link this to his philosophical training.

[72] *Pol.* 1319a24–28. The detrimental effects on virtue of the practice of the *banausos* feature also in the thought of Plato (*Nomoi* 11.919). On vulgar displays of wealth, see Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4.2.20.

and that philosophy was certainly important to the Phalerean period in terms of propaganda. Is it possible to go further, and deduce from the philosophically-based criticisms that his reforms were in reality the product of his education? The background of prosecutions of philosophers prior to 317 gives reason for some caution. These early attacks, which established a pattern of pro-Macedonian sympathy within the Peripatos, made Demetrius' Peripatetic education a natural focus for hostile propaganda during and after his regime; his philosophical affiliation allowed his detractors to locate him within a pro-Cassander tradition. This continuity of the attack might perhaps have found its greatest expression in Demochares' defence speech for Sophocles, if indeed this speech is the ultimate source of the written tradition on the trials of Theophrastus and Demetrius: that Carystius' report of Demetrius' impiety stems from Demochares' speech is argued elsewhere (306), and Demochares' caustic jibe about Theophrastus' failure to defend himself (Aelian *V.H.* 8.12) could well have been recounted in the same context.[73]

Moreover, allowance must be made for the general underlying suspicions of philosophers within the Athenian population, suspicions that may have encouraged Demetrius' critics to adopt an anti-philosophical line as an effective avenue of attacking him. It is notable that the characterisation of the evils of philosophy even after Demetrius' regime is highly stereotyped; the conventional perils are rehearsed, despite the supposed existence of very concrete examples of the ill-effects of philosophy offered by Demetrius' 'Peripatetic' laws. In the fragment of Alexis' *Hippeus* that deals with Sophocles' law, the speaker rages against philosophers as "those who, as they say, teach the power of speaking (*tas tôn logôn*... *dunameis*) to the young". This is hackneyed stuff. Writing of a law allegedly introduced by Critias in 404 which prohibited the teaching of 'the art of debate', Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.2.31) claimed that this was "the usual layman's allegation against all philosophers." Within the comic genre, Alexis himself had used commonplaces against philosophers for humorous effect in an earlier work, and his lines have antecedents as far back as Aristophanes.[74] The anti-philosophical tradition of Athenian comedy may have shaped some of

---

[73] The exchange with Theophrastus could have reached Aelian by way of Duris, if Duris was indeed influenced by Demochares' writings as Kebric 1977, 25–26 posits.

[74] Alexis F25 KA. Marasco 1984, 43 sees Alexis' lines as a parody of Aristophanes on Socrates.

Demochares' claims, such as his declarations that the philosophers led lives conspicuous for their vice.[75] When such conventional assessments of the perils of philosophy continue to provide the focus of anti-intellectual hostility in the responses to Sophocles' law, responses composed for the popular audiences of the dramatic festivals or the Athenian law courts, questions arise as to the extent to which the reaction against Demetrius was determined by a philosophical basis for his laws. The antipathy expressed in 307/6 may have been more an attempt to capitalise upon generalised distrust of intellectuals than a response to the implementation of a Peripatetic programme by Demetrius.

Granted, some aspects of the 307/6 attack are more suggestive of a real philosophical influence on Demetrius' legislative activity. Demochares' speech for Sophocles highlights the overtly political dangers, and especially the alleged predisposition to tyranny,[76] inherent in philosophical schools, and seeks to draw connections between the acts of tyrants and specific philosophical precepts. This explicit link between politics and philosophy is most readily explained as a reaction to the rule of Demetrius, but even this does not permit the conclusion that Demetrius' reforms were a *direct result* of his education: his laws may have been simply compatible with a philosophical impetus. Again, it may have been the hostility towards Peripatetics prior to the installation of Demetrius that ensured that philosophy remained a focus of propaganda.

There were other factors at work in the aftermath of Demetrius of Phalerum's rule that may have shaped the attack on the Peripatos. After all, the Antigonid liberators of Athens seem to have taken an interest in the case of Sophocles and the philosophers. Alexis' allusion to the law in the *Hippeus* is usually taken to indicate Demetrius

[75] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881, 197 n. 18 points for a model to Antiphanes' treatment of Heraclides of Pontus, a student first of Plato and Speusippus and later of Aristotle.

[76] Demochares may have insinuated other deleterious effects of philosophy. Thus he impugned Socrates' military capability, as revealed by the witticism attributed to him in Athenaeus 215c: "precisely as no one can make a lance head from a leaf of savoury, so also can one not make a blameless soldier out of a Socrates." As Marasco 1984, 167 observed, this reference to the soldiership of Socrates is to be understood as an attempt to demonstrate the uselessness, if not outright harmfulness, of philosophers as citizens; it is in particular a refutation of Plato who, in his *Apol.* 28e (also *Symp.* 221a, *Laches* 181b), had mentioned Socrates' participation in three campaigns as part of an attempt to demonstrate that Socrates, the state benefactor, had been condemned unjustly.

Poliorcetes' backing for the measure: the speaker of the piece offers thanks to this Demetrius for expelling the philosophers from Athens.[77] Furthermore, anecdotes linking Aristotle with Antipater in the murder of Alexander (Aristotle is said to have instigated the plot, and to have acquired the poison which was administered to Alexander by Antipater's son, Iolaus) may indicate that the Antigonids themselves subsequently took measures to denigrate the Peripatos. Plutarch cites a certain Hagnothemis as the authority for Aristotle's involvement in Alexander's death, and Hagnothemis claimed to have got the story from Antigonus himself.[78] The allegation makes sense as propaganda generated by Antigonus' court to damage the image of the Peripatos, and particularly of Demetrius, who had aligned himself with Antigonus' enemy Cassander. On the basis of their fabrication of this Aristotelian crime, one might even wonder whether the Antigonids could be given credit also for Demochares' story of the treasonous letters of Aristotle to Philip: Monophthalmus could well have claimed some knowledge of such correspondence. This is not to argue that Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes were generally hostile to philosophers, only that they acted against the Peripatos in the context of their liberation of Athens from Cassander. This hostility was not universal, and may have been expressed within Athens only to discredit Demetrius and Cassander: this will be the case particularly if Marasco is right that the Adeimantus named (at Athen. 253c and 255c) as an agent of Poliorcetes is the same Adeimantus who appears as a signatory to Theophrastus' will (Diog. Laert. 5.57).[79]

The interests and concerns of Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son may have exerted some subtle, but nonetheless significant, influences on the way in which the anti-philosophical attack was carried out in 307/6. Their involvement meant, for one, that attacks based on philosophers' supposed ties with Philip II and Alexander became politically inopportune: the Antigonids assiduously cultivated a connection

---

[77] Quoted above, 214; on Poliorcetes as a champion of the bill, Ferguson 1911a, 103ff, Arnott 1996, 858–59.

[78] Plut. *Alex.* 77.3; other testimonia on Aristotle's part in Alexander's death are collected by Düring 1957, T29. It is difficult to establish precisely when this story arose. The earliest version of the poison plot, which had its genesis very early in the rift between the Diadochs, did not include Aristotle: so Bosworth 1971, 114.

[79] Marasco 1984, 46. A still more notable example of Antigonid favour towards students of the Peripatos is the elevation of Duris to power in Samos. Duris had been a pupil of Theophrastus (see evidence cited at 198 n. 5).

with the memory of these two formative Macedonian monarchs, and in that light anyone denigrating the philosophers for just such connections would run the risk of alienating the support of Athens' new liberators. It is thus notable that, in his speech for Sophocles, Demochares makes an art of avoiding any explicit linking of the philosophers with either Alexander or Philip, but emphasises those affiliations with the Antigonids' enemies. He is silent, for example, on the rôle of Alexander in the establishment of the tyranny of Chaeron in Pellene, a rôle emphasised by other sources; by contrast, he highlights the part played by Arrhidaeus in the attempted coup of Timolaus in 319. Arrhidaeus was a supporter of Eumenes against Antigonus, and the attempt on Cyzicus had been part of his anti-Antigonid campaign; Antigonus himself had hastened to relieve Cyzicus from Arrhidaeus' intervention there (Diod. 18.52.1ff; Trogus *Prologue* 14). A similar concern may have dictated Demochares' selection of Chaeron, rather than the better-known and more impressive Clearchus, in his *exempla* of philosopher-tyrants. Clearchus had been a pupil of Plato and his policies were mirrored by those of Chaeron; he had however, co-existed peacefully with Monophthalmus when the latter was governor of Greater Phrygia, and his successors had struck a treaty with the Antigonids in 315, these facts making him an unsuitable target for Demochares' invective.[80]

More importantly for our purposes, the shift in the nature of the attacks on the philosophers—away from the outright accusations of impiety which had characterised the period prior to 317, and towards the more overtly political allegations of tyranny that we find in the defence of Sophocles—may have been conditioned by the arrival of Poliorcetes and the ensuing Athenian response to his liberation of the city. At the start of 307/6, the Athenians had showered honours upon their liberators, hailing them as saviour gods and establishing for them cult honours including a festival.[81] The application of divine attributes to the Antigonids made more problematic the use of impiety and in particular the deification of mortals as a legal tool against the philosophers in 307: the Athenian people were guilty of the same offences of which the philosophers had been accused. Most notably, the Athenians

---

[80] So Marasco 1984, 169 on Clearchus and Chaeron. See Memnon *FGrHist.* 434 FF4, 6 on Clearchus.

[81] Diod. 20.45.2, Plut. *Demetr.* 10.4ff. For discussion, Habicht 1970, 44–48.

had, in early 307/6, conducted a contest for the composition of paeans for the Antigonids:[82] this came perilously close to the kind of activity for which Demophilus and Eurymedon had tried to prosecute Aristotle.

It may thus be no accident that Demochares seems to have passed over the charge about Hermias (who himself, as a likely supporter of Philip, could no longer be openly demonised), preferring instead to fabricate political crimes against Aristotle.[83] Even these charges are framed in such a way as to lay blame not upon Philip but upon Aristotle alone. Aristotle is made the active agent: *he* sends letters denouncing Athens, *he* betrays his native city. On Demochares' scheme, Philip's acquisition of the wealth of Olynthus results not from his own seizure of it, but from Aristotle's denunciation of the Olythnian élite. Likewise, it is no coincidence that the earlier impiety allegation of which Demochares apparently did make mention was that specifically against Demetrius on the epiphany of his brother, for the connotations of that charge underlined Demetrius' connections with the Antigonids' enemies. The parallel evoked by his celebration of his deceased brother was the celebration of Pythionice by Harpalus; that Macedonian had been associated in Athens with the family of Phocion (himself implicated with Antipater), and had ended his life as a fugitive from Alexander. As noted above, the allusion to Himeraeus also recalled the accession of the Athenian negotiators, including Demetrius, to Antipater's demand for the surrender of the democratic orators. Moreover, Demetrius' flight in 318 to the garrison commanded by Nicanor reinforced the notion of his long-standing complicity with the cause of Cassander.[84] There was nothing in these charges to offend the sensibilities of either Poliorcetes or his father.

---

[82] Philoch. *FGrHist.* 328 F165. For the date, see Jacoby's commentary on Philochorus, and Scott 1928, 144.

[83] I assume here that Aristocles (ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 15.2.6) has made a full catalogue of Demochares' accusations against Aristotle.

[84] Demochares may also have alluded, in his speech for Sophocles, to the attempt to prosecute Theophrastus (the anecdote in Aelian *V.H.* 8.12, on which see above, 209–210, may perhaps come ultimately from this source). Aelian's presentation of this material suggests that the emphasis was on Theophrastus' failure to defend himself before the Areopagus. Demochares may thus have been concerned primarily with highlighting the incompetence of philosophers as orators, a topos well established from the time of Socrates (hence Callicles' warning in Plato *Gorg.* 486b–c); this forms a counterpart to other allegations in Demochares' speech, such as the incompetence of philosophers as soldiers (Athen. 215c cf. 187d).

If the reaction of the Antigonids was a consideration in Demochares' framing of his defence of Sophocles, some changes in approach may have been due to concern for the Antigonids rather than being reflections of conditions under Demetrius. From the launch of their offensive into Greece in 307, they espoused a policy of freedom for the Greeks; they were committed to ridding Cassander's strongholds of oligarchies installed by him. Demochares' emphasis on tyranny as the outcome of philosophy was thus compatible with the propaganda promoted by the liberators of Athens. Demetrius was not a philosophical tyrant because he had implemented some programme of reform learned from his studies in the Peripatos, but because the rhetoric of the liberation required that he should be.

5.3 *Demetrius: orator, Peripatetic and patron of philosophers*

All this is not to argue that Demetrius of Phalerum's philosophical connections were simply the product of the propaganda of his enemies.[85] It is rather to warn against an uncritical interpretation of the spate of anti-philosophical activity that marked Demetrius' regime as being read as evidence of a philosophical foundation underlying his legislation. Other factors, such as the historical association of the Peripatos with Cassander's family and the interests of the Antigonids, were at play in shaping the philosophical attacks made by Demetrius' political enemies. The true nature of Demetrius' philosophical links may be differently assessed. He certainly seems, for example, to have cultivated Athens' intellectual élite, and to have acted as a benefactor to philosophers, both individually and collectively. One anecdote relates that he assisted the Academic scholarch, Xenocrates, when the latter was unable to pay his metic levy and was being offered for sale as a slave; Demetrius is said to have purchased him, thereby, as Diogenes Laertius, who tells the tale (4.14 = Demetr. 49 SOD), puts it, making twofold restitution, to Xenocrates of his liberty, and

[85] Haake (2007) 78–81 suggests indeed that Demetrius himself advertised his philosophical connections in his own apologia; he cites chiefly the evidence of Strabo 9.1.20 (= Demetr. 19 SOD), where Demetrius' association with Theophrastus is noted. Strabo is clearly familiar with Demetrius' own writings, and has drawn his assessment of Demetrius' good governance from them; it is less clear, however, that the relationship with Theophrastus also derives from Demetrius' writings and is not an addition by Strabo himself.

to the Athenians of their tax. He is said further to have offered material support to the Cynic, Crates (Diog. Laert. 6.90, Athen. 422c = Demetr. 33A & B SOD), and to have intervened to save the atheist, Theodorus, from investigation by the Areopagus (Diog. Laert. 2.101 = Demetr. 48 SOD).[86]

In terms of its abiding impact, the most significant of his benefactions was to his former teacher Theophrastus, for whom Demetrius made possible the acquisition of a 'garden', or *kêpos*, for the Peripatetic school (so Diog. Laert. 5.39 = Demetr. 10 SOD); as a metic, Theophrastus could not normally own land in Attica.[87] In terms of Demetrius' influence on the shape of Hellenic intellectual life, this latter intervention is surpassed only by his later formative impetus in the creation of the library of Alexandria and the translation of the *Septuagint*,[88] for Demetrius' grant of a garden to the Peripatos may have fundamentally changed the status of philosophical schools in Athens. It has generally been assumed that Theophrastus was allowed to purchase grounds for his school through a grant of *egktêsis*, the standard dispensation for would-be metic landowners. But the terms of Theophrastus' will, and those of subsequent heads of the school, make it clear that the garden obtained under Demetrius could be passed on to surviving members of the school after the death of the grant-recipient; this is something not usual for land held by metics through *egktêsis*, particularly as some of the later heads of the Peripatos to whom the property was bequeathed were themselves metics. Whatever the legal form Demetrius' help took, it seems that he made it possible for the Peripatos to own in perpetuity a garden for its philosophising; this may have altered the model of philosophical schools from that time on, releasing schools from their dependence on access to public facilities (such as the Lyceum used by Aristotle, or the sanctuary of Academus frequented by Plato and his associates) and from their need to maintain the support of individual Athenians who could legally hold the land they wished to use.[89] Demetrius' benefaction placed the philosophical

[86] Cf. above, 216.

[87] Is the cryptic allusion by Themistius *Orat*. 21.252b (= Demetr. 11 SOD) to Theophrastus' rejection of financial favours from Demetrius to be associated in any way with this interlude?

[88] For the testimonia on his role in the library and in the preparation of the Septuagint (both of which are problematic), see Demetr. 58–66 SOD, and below 301.

[89] The arguments for this are set out in greater detail in O'Sullivan 2002.

schools on a sound footing and, once Sophocles' attempt to regulate the schools had been overturned by the Athenian courts, secured Athens' ongoing place as the prime seat of learning in Greece.

Demetrius' patronage of intellectuals invites comparison less with Plato's philosopher-king than with earlier Athenian statesmen. One obvious analogy is with Pericles, whose cultivation of intellectuals was notorious;[90] most notable is the latter's supposed intervention in the prosecution of Anaxagoras,[91] which would (if historical) provide a precedent for Demetrius' protection of Theodorus. Pericles' association with philosophers was such, indeed, that Aelian would come to include him in a catalogue of philosophers who had participated in politics, where he in fact appears after Demetrius of Phalerum. Thus Aelian, *Varia Historia* 3.17 (= Demetr. 40 SOD):

> Demetrius of Phalerum participated with the greatest distinction in government in Athens…And who will deny that Pericles, too, the son of Xanthippus, was a philosopher…?

A yet more striking similarity with Demetrius is afforded by that hero of fourth century democracy, Lycurgus. [Plutarch] lists among the good deeds of Lycurgus his intervention on behalf of Xenocrates when the philosopher, unable to pay his metic tax, was accosted by the tax gatherer: Lycurgus allegedly assaulted the tax collector with a stick and had him incarcerated for improper conduct.[92] This story is so much like that featuring Demetrius in the role of Xenocrates' rescuer that it is easy to dismiss the Demetrius version as a mistaken duplicate; even if the Demetrius version is unhistorical, however, it might have been deliberate fabrication rather than chance error, as comparison between Demetrius and Lycurgus in their assistance to Xenocrates may have

---

[90] The connection with Anaxagoras was the most famous. See, for example, Plato *Phaed.* 270a; [Dem.] 61.45; Cic. *De Or.* 3.138; Plut. *Per.* 4.5–6.

[91] Diog. Laert. 2.12–14; Diod. 12.39.2 (based on Ephorus). The details of the episode are notoriously hard to fix, and it has thus generated an ample amount of scholarship: see, among others, Taylor 1917; Davison 1953; Andrewes 1978; Mansfeld 1979 & 1980; Woodbury 1981.

[92] [Plut.] *Mor.* 842b; Plut. *Flamin.* 12.4; Phot. *Bibl.* 268.497 a34 Bekker. There are two other versions of the 'Xenocrates and the metic tax' incident, which have Phocion (Plut. *Phoc.* 29.4) or Demades (*Index Acad. Herc.* col. VIII Dorandi) offer unsuccessfully to enrol Xenocrates as a citizen. These anecdotes are compared by Whitehead 1981, 235–38, who dismisses the version in Diog. Laert. 4.14 as "simply…a slip." While the versions involving Lycurgus are, as Whitehead argues, to be preferred as the original tale, the variant known to Myronianus involving Demetrius may yet have been a deliberate fabrication, one designed to contrast Demetrius with Lycurgus.

been made by the ancients. Diogenes cites as his source for the Demetrius story the first book of Myronianus' tome of historical parallels; it is tempting to see the version featuring Lycurgus as the parallel which Demetrius' benefaction was (perhaps consciously) to evoke. This suggested similarity between Demetrius and Lycurgus is reflected in the debate about the commissioning of a fourth-century statue of Socrates. This portrait, which was housed in the Pompeum, has been attributed to the sculptor Lysippus, who is known from other works to have been active in Athens in the pre- and early-Phalerean years: he created, for example, a bronze khoregic monument which must predate Demetrius' prohibition of such works, and he may be responsible for a figure plausibly identified by Palagia as a portrait of Cassander. Zanker argued that the statue of Socrates may have been commissioned by Lycurgus, perhaps to stand alongside the statues of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles known to have been created in that period; others, however, have nominated Demetrius as the most likely patron of this work.[93] The installation of a Socratic portrait in a public place, particularly a place associated with the education of Athenian youth, is, in fact, consistent with the tendencies of either politician.

From a political perspective, it is notable that these other philosophical benefactors (Pericles, Lycurgus) were icons of democracy: aristocratic, indeed, and perhaps not unreservedly democratic in their own political activities as modern scholarship well notes, yet recognised by subsequent generations of Athenians as figureheads of the democratic constitution. According to the models offered by these two, Demetrius need not, by supporting intellectuals, have been setting himself at odds with the kinds of behaviour accepted from democratic politicians.[94] Demetrius himself does, however, seem to have drawn an implicit contrast between his own behaviour and that of the

[93] Diog. Laert. 2.43 records the commissioning of a Socratic portrait by the assembly, as a gesture of regret for Socrates' execution. As Lycurgan, see Zanker 1995, 57–62; also Mitchel 1965, 198 n. 5. For Demetrius, see now Palagia 1998, 23; the identification of Lysippus' portrait of Cassander, and bibliography for the khoregic monument mentioned above, are contained in this article.

[94] It is true that, at least in the version of Plut. *Per.* 31–32, the campaign against Pericles' intellectual and artistic friends was aimed at undermining the popularity of Pericles among the *dêmos.* It does not follow axiomatically from this, however, that supporting an intellectual élite meant that one's own political leanings were oligarchical.

Athenian *dêmos* as a whole, a contrast intended to underscore his superior generosity towards intellectuals. This at least is the tantalising suggestion from some fragments of one of his works, variously entitled *Socrates* or *Apology of Socrates*,[95] in which Demetrius challenged some of the accepted views about the fifth-century politician Aristides the Just. Aristides had been drawn into philosophical circles in the Greek historiographical tradition through the marriage of one of his descendants to Socrates, and Aelian (*V.H.* 3.17 = Demetr. 40 SOD) includes Aristides himself in the ranks of the politician / philosophers. Well established in the fourth century was a belief that Aristides, despite his ample opportunities for profiteering during the establishment of the Delian League, had been impoverished as an individual, and that he and his descendants had been maintained by public largesse: we find, for example, claims that the state funded his burial, that his son was supported by public money, and that his daughters were given dowries at state expense.[96] Importantly, these benefactions were sometimes cited as part of a wider argument that this generosity augmented the prestige of the Athenian *dêmos* among the other Hellenes. With this tradition, however, Demetrius took issue, offering various proofs of Aristides' wealth (see Plut. *Arist.* 1.1–4 = Demetr. 102 SOD); by claiming that Socrates took pity on Aristides' daughter as she was too poor to marry elsewhere (Plut. *Arist.* 27.3 = Demetr. 104 SOD), he also implicitly calls into question the story of the Athenians' provision of a public dowry. This diminishing of the democratic benefactions may have served to elevate those of Demetrius, and indeed at one point the contrast becomes virtually explicit—so Plut. *Arist.* 27.4–5 = Demetr. 104 SOD:

> And (Demetrius) of Phalerum in his *Socrates* says that he remembers a grandson (*thugatridous*) of Aristides, (named) Lysimachus, as a very poor man. He earned a living from a kind of tablet for interpreting dreams, while sitting next to what is called the Iaccheion, and he proposed to the assembly and carried a resolution allowing his mother and her sister three obols a day to feed themselves. Demetrius, however, says that he himself, when he was legislator, awarded each of the women a drachma instead of three obols.

---

[95] All fragments of this work are collated as FF102–109.

[96] See Dem. 23.209 for the public burial; Dem. 20.115 (cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.19–20; Plut. *Arist.* 27.2) for maintenance of his son; for the public dowries, Aesch. 3.258, Nepos *Arist.* 3.3, Plut. *Arist.* 27.1.

As it stands, the text is not without its difficulties (the stated relationship of Lysimachus to Aristides, for example, makes a chronological absurdity of Demetrius' claim to remember him personally),[97] but the import of the passage is clear. Demetrius here casts himself as patron par excellence, one whose generosity outshone that of the state.

This is a rather different understanding of the ideological framework of Demetrius' *Socrates* from one posited earlier by Dover. In his seminal article on anti-intellectualism in Athens, Dover cast a critical eye over the evidence for Athenian hostility towards philosophers in the fifth-century and, finding that evidence contradictory and unconvincing, suggested that the literary tradition was largely the product of later fabrications. Demetrius of Phalerum, who with his philosophical associates had suffered a lengthy campaign of legal prosecutions, was a tempting candidate for the creation of a literary tradition that emphasised the poor relations between the Athenians and philosophers. Indeed, Dover maintained that "the glimpse we get of [Demetrius'] *Apology of Socrates* is enough to justify the hypothesis that it was a work in which the theme of long-standing antagonism between the Athenian *dêmos* and the philosophers was developed further than the available evidence warranted, and through which a highly coloured picture of this antagonism was transmitted to later ages."[98] I argue in detail elsewhere that the glimpses these fragments offer of *Socrates* (Demetr. 102–109 SOD) do not, in fact, support Dover's reading, and that they give little reason to believe that Demetrius responded to the anti-philosophical attacks of his own day by creating a literary tradition of long-term antipathy in which he himself was to be viewed as

---

[97] Differing solutions to the problem are offered by Davies 1971 no. 1695; Bicknell 1974; Labarbe 1995. Among these attempts, however, none has suggested that the problematic term, *thugatridous*, might belong to Plutarch rather than to Demetrius. Yet in the preceding passage, Plutarch has just been describing the situation of Aristides' daughter, Myrto, whom he rightly labels *thugatridê Aristeidou*, and he may have repeated this relationship mistakenly in the new context of Demetrius' Lysimachus. This solution would allow a simple resolution of the dilemma, without recourse to unparalleled meanings of *thugatridous* (as by Bicknell) or the representation as fact of what Demetrius had expressed only as a potential (so Labarbe).

[98] Dover 1976, 38–39. He nominated as material that could have originated in Demetrius' writings the report at Diogenes 9.52 that the Athenians burned Protagoras' books, and also the 'decree of Diopeithes' mentioned by Plutarch *Per.* 32.1. Since Dover argued against the historicity of the action against Protagoras, and of the proposal of Diopeithes, his view implies that Demetrius actually fabricated material in order to develop a theme of well-established Athenian enmity to intellectuals.

one of the many victims of that persecution.[99] His self-representation as a benefactor, and particularly as a patron of philosophers, is a far cry from this.

Demetrius' relationship with the intellectual life of Athens was not merely as patron, however. One area in which Demetrius' association with the Peripatos had a discernible impact was in his rhetorical style. The loss of his extensive rhetorical output has perhaps led to a misguided concentration on his laws in modern scholarship, but it is clear from the ancient sources that he was renowned as a speaker: he is catalogued as the last exemplar of Attic style by Cicero (*De Orat.* 2.95 = Demetr. 120 SOD, *Brutus* 37 & 285 = Demetr. 121 & 122 SOD) and Quintilian (*Instit. Orat.* 10.1.80 = Demetr. 125 SOD), and a "Demetrius *the rhetor* of Athens" featured in an inscription from Cyrene (*SEG* 27.1194, 28–29 = Demetr. 151 SOD) may be the Phalerean.[100] This association of Demetrius and the Peripatos in the field of oratory is suggested by the fragmentary papyrus, *P. Lille* 88 (= Demetr. 41 SOD), which may couple Demetrius with another Peripatetic, Callisthenes (whose name is, however, partially restored) as an outstanding orator;[101] moreover, when Demetrius is attested as a teacher in the Peripatos, it is in the context of the education of the orator Dinarchus, a detail from which it is tempting to deduce that he was engaged in rhetorical training. So Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho* 2.2 = Demetr. 9A SOD:

> Having arrived in Athens at the time when the schools of the philosophers and the orators flourished, he [Dinarchus] fell in with Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phalerum.[102]

In fact, it is more from his oratory, rather than in his legislation as such, that the ancients themselves perceived Demetrius' debt to his philosophical education. Cicero, who knew Demetrius' speeches and comments on numerous occasions on their style,[103] emphasises the impact of Peripatetic (and particularly Theophrastus') training on the

---

[99] See further O'Sullivan 2008a.

[100] On the inscription, compare Dobias-Lalou & Laronde 1977, esp. 9–12. Stork, Ophuijsen and Dorandi list it among the *incerta*.

[101] Meillier 1979.

[102] Compare [Plut.] *Mor.* 850c = Demetr. 9B SOD.

[103] See *Brutus* 9.37, 82.285, *Orat.* 26.91, 27.94 (= Demetr. 121, 122, 124 SOD).

Phalerean's oratory; at *Brutus* 37 (= Demetr. 121 SOD), for example, he describes Demetrius as

> formed on the training ground [of a philosophic school] rather than on the battlefield [of the courtroom or the assembly]. As a result he delighted rather than inflamed the Athenians. For he had come out into the sunlight and dust, not as from a soldier's tent, but from the shady retreat of Theophrastus, a most scholarly man.

To this one might add Cicero's classification of Demetrius at *De Officiis* 1.1.3 (= Demetr. 119 SOD) as "a subtle disputer, a speaker somewhat lacking in force but nonetheless charming, in whom you may recognise the pupil of Theophrastus," and Cicero's verdict here is echoed by Diogenes Laertius who remarks upon Demetrius' style as "philosophical, with an admixture of rhetorical vigour and force" (5.82 = Demetr. 1 SOD). Cicero elucidates the nature of that philosophical influence on Demetrius' oratory, when at *Orator* 91ff (= Demetr. 124 SOD) he notes Demetrius' extensive use of ornamentation, of metaphor and metonymy in particular, and links this explicitly with the influence of philosophical training.[104]

The influence of Demetrius' philosophical learning extends beyond its practical application in his own style as an orator.[105] It is clear that some aspects of his own theoretical writings on rhetoric, of which only fragments survive, owed a similar debt: he seems, for example, to have shared Theophrastus' interests in diction and delivery as aspects of the rhetorical art (see Demetr. 134–39 SOD). He also may have followed the lead of Aristotle and Theophrastus in encouraging the use of the dialectical disputational methods employed in the philosophical schools as a training-tool for rhetoric: certainly Diogenes Laertius (5.3) and Cicero (*Orator* 46, *De Finibus* 5.10) attest that Aristotle and Theophrastus found rhetorical use for *theses* (or questions of a general nature that students were required to argue pro and contra) and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 2.4.41–2 = Demetr. 126 SOD) may indicate that Demetrius of Phalerum too was credited with a hand in this, when he observes

---

[104] For further comment on Demetrius of Phalerum's use of ornamentation in his oratory, see Demetr. 12, 122, 123, 128, 129 SOD. On Peripatetic qualities of rhetoric, see Hendrickson 1904, van Ophuijsen 1994 and for an assessment of the Peripatetic quality of Demetrius' style, see Blass 1898, 342ff.

[105] For expanded discussion of the following aspects of Demetrius' rhetorical ideas and for relevant bibliography, see O'Sullivan 2005.

> [the ancients practised their skill in speaking] by making use of the dialecticians' method of argumentation. For it is generally accepted that speaking on fictitious subjects to simulate the courtroom and the political assembly, was introduced among the Greeks around the time of Demetrius of Phalerum. Whether this kind of practice was invented by him personally, I have been unable to ascertain with certainty…

The Peripatetics' application of dialectical training to rhetoric may have had a stylistic aspect, encouraging rhetorical abundance through ornamentation;[106] it may have rested also on a belief that the methods of proof employed by philosophy were suited also to rhetoric.

As a theoretician of rhetoric, Demetrius seems to have been particularly concerned with reconciling the perceived division between rhetoric and philosophy that had existed since the time of Plato, a division which distinguished between the purpose of rhetoric (with its aim to overwhelm and thus persuade the listening audience) and that of philosophical discourse (which sought to instruct its listeners). Such was the division that there was a belief, not uncommon in Greece and later in Rome, that education in philosophic discourse rendered one incompetent in political and forensic oratory. It is notable that Cicero, who with his rhetorical successes and his philosophical treatises had proved himself capable of excellence in both fields, looked to Demetrius alone as the only possible precursor in this two-fold success. So *De Off.* 1.1.3 = Demetr. 119 SOD:

> Here is something that I do not find any of the Greeks so far has attained: that one and the same person is active in either genre [i.e. of rhetorical and philosophic discourse] and cultivates both the former genre of judicial speech and this latter genre of calm discussion—unless perhaps Demetrius of Phalerum is to be counted among this number…

Demetrius' theoretical bridge between the two disciplines is outlined in a fragment of his treatise *Peri Rhetorikês*, a fragment preserved in Philodemus' similarly fragmentary work of the same name (*P. Herc.* 1007, col. 40a.24–42a4 = Demetr. 130 SOD). This rather ambiguous and controversial passage does seem to indicate that he claimed for philosophical discourse a place within the discipline of rhetoric itself. In a discussion of the classification of types of oratory, in which deliberative and forensic branches were commonly recognised, Demetrius

[106] So Cicero claims. Notably, ornamentation is the very quality that he elsewhere associates with Demetrius' own 'philosophical' style of rhetoric.

is reported to have argued for the creation of a category of speech which he designated the 'conversational speech', or *enteuktikos logos*.[107] This, it seems, was designed to expand rhetoric from the discipline of continuous speech alone to include conversational dialogue; Philodemus took Demetrius to mean this, and moreover understood the conversational speech indicated by Demetrius to include not only discourse with ordinary people and ambassadorial dialogue with potentates but also, and more radically, the particular kind of dialogue and dialectic that characterized the investigations and writings of philosophical schools.[108]

It is clear, then, that his philosophical links played a key role in the formation of Demetrius' rhetoric, on both the theoretical and practical level. This aspect of his philosophical association should not be undervalued. So significant was his status as an orator in antiquity that he is credited with altering the course of Athenian oratory, marking the end of what would, in later rhetorical analysis, be regarded as a pure Attic style exemplified by Demosthenes and Aeschines (see Demetr. 121, 122, 125 SOD);[109] his assimilation of philosophical techniques, with his ornamentation of argument so well cultivated by the philosophers, was integral to that rhetorical change. Demetrius the Peripatetic may be more the orator than the politician.

The interplay between Demetrius' philosophical education and his political career is complex and nuanced. We have seen, on the one hand, that Demetrius actively cultivated his associations with intellectuals through acts of patronage, and that he brought his philosophical training into his rhetorical style; on the other, we have seen that the personal connections of prominent Peripatetics to the Macedonian

---

[107] Demetrius here recalls categories posited by Alcidamas (*Soph.* 9) and Plato (*Soph.* 222c). It is rather unclear what relationship, if any, Demetrius himself envisaged between his *enteuktikos logos* and the other commonly recognized branch of oratory, the epideictic or sophistic show-piece speech. Much later, Cicero would use very similar language to describe epideictic oratory, philosophical dialogue and Demetrius' own philosophically-imbued speeches: compare *Orator* 63, 65 and *Brutus* 37–38 (= Demetr. 121 SOD).

[108] A series of lacunose and difficult fragments (Demetr. 131A–C SOD) seems to indicate that Demetrius discussed the performance of Xenocrates, head of the Academy, on an embassy to Antipater in 322 in the context of the use of philosophical speech on diplomatic occasions. For one interpretation of these fragments see Dorandi 1997.

[109] On these passages, see also Heldmann 1979.

élite made such philosophical connections a convenient avenue for political invective. All these factors contributed to the enduring impression of Demetrius as a Peripatetic in his own right; none of them, however, ultimately either confirms or refutes the proposition that Demetrius' legislative activity was informed by his training in the Peripatos.

A final refinement of our view of Demetrius may perhaps be undertaken not through the isolation of influences on individual items of legislation, but instead through assessing Demetrius against the spectrum of Greco-Roman perceptions of philosopher-statesmen. A reappraisal may begin with a re-consideration of his title of *nomothetês* under which, it is argued above, he enacted his laws. In chapter two, it was suggested that this title was assumed in order to highlight the continuity between Demetrius' laws, with their emphasis on orderly conduct and religious propriety, and those attributed to the early lawgivers classed as *nomothetai*. Dicearchus, a contemporary and philosophical colleague of Demetrius, drew some interesting conclusions about the relationship between philosophy and the Seven Sages, whose number included some of these early *nomothetai*. For Dicaearchus, the Seven Sages stood out as examples of intellectuals who played an active part in politics, a fact which made them properly neither philosophers (*philosophoi*) nor wise men (*sophoi*), but men of understanding (*sunetoi*) and lawgivers (*nomothetikoi*); as practitioners of the engaged political life, the *bios praktikos*, their opinions were deemed especially worthy of study.[110] This kind of thinking may serve as a paradigm for understanding Demetrius, whose interest in the Seven Sages and possible cultivation of a link with them through the adoption of the title *nomothetês* may have consciously invoked this duality of intellectual and statesman.[111]

The testimonia of Cicero offer further ways of approaching Demetrius the philosopher, and also affirm the model of the Seven Sages as an appropriate one for Demetrius. In the opening passages of *De Re Publica* Cicero explores the usefulness of philosophical study of poli-

[110] Dicaearchus F37 cf. F33 Mirhady.
[111] Demetrius' collection of sayings of these wise men has been noted already in an earlier context (above, 95); to that observation one might add the fact that Demetrius is known to have discussed the Seven Sages as a group (in his chronological work, *Arkhontôn anagraphê*: see Diog. Laert. 1.22 = Demetr. 93 SOD, where Demetrius states the time at which the Seven Sages became thus known).

tics to political praxis, and concurs with Dicaearchus' approval of the Seven Sages because these men did not hold aloof from political engagement: thus, at 1.7.12, due credence as political authorities is granted to the Seven, who are deemed almost all conversant with politics (*eos vero septem quos Graeci sapientes nominaverunt, omnes paene video in media re publica esse versatos*). This opening discussion in the *De Re Publica* is, interestingly, very much like another Ciceronian passage which forms the context of one of Cicero's judgements on Demetrius of Phalerum. At *De Legibus* 3.6.14 (= Demetr. 57 SOD), having given an overview of philosophers who wrote books on comparative constitutions and magistracies, Cicero writes

> Afterwards the well-known man from Phalerum whom I have mentioned earlier, Demetrius, a student of Theophrastus, admirably led learning out of the shady retreat and leisure of the erudite not just into the sunlight and the dust but into conflict itself and the line of battle: we can mention many men of modest learning who have occupied important positions in the state, and many very learned men not too well at home in affairs of state, but whom besides this man can one readily find who is so strong on both scores that he is first both in the pursuit of learning and in ruling the state?

For Cicero, Demetrius is to be admired for his coupling of an active engagement in politics with proficiency as a thinker. Cicero's assessment here does not claim that Demetrius implemented a reform programme devised by the Peripatos:[112] it is an assessment made in the particular context of the credentials of various writers of constitutional treatises, and the remark simply indicates that Demetrius was an example of one who combined intellectual inquiry with an active political career; his works on statecraft were to be preferred to those of the purely speculative philosophers, whose conclusions were not tempered by an understanding of the practical demands of statecraft. The verdicts of both Cicero and Dicaearchus point to a rather generalised combination of philosophy and statecraft by Demetrius. Demetrius was noteworthy because his interests in philosophy did not preclude his active political involvement. On the one hand, he brought to politics an active, trained mind, not necessarily one filled with conclusions taught him by Theophrastus and Aristotle; on the other, his

[112] Cicero's assessment may have been influenced by Panaetius, to whose constitutional treatises Cicero has just referred. See particularly Grilli 1957, 71–72.

constitutional writings merited attention because they were informed by practical experience.

For an appreciation of Demetrius as both philosopher and politician, the comparison offered by the career of Cicero himself may be the most illuminating yet. It is, after all, from Cicero's writings that the most explicit statements are made about Demetrius' debt to philosophy, and those mentions are often made to draw parallels with Cicero's own accomplishments. With his participation in politics, and his composition of philosophical works, Demetrius provided a paradigm for the Roman orator's bipartite career that also spanned politics and intellectual pursuits. For Cicero, part of this self-identification with Demetrius turns on the fact that both were masters of diverse genres of writing, both able to produce both rhetorical and philosophical works.[113] But the similarity between the two men transcended the merely literary: their facility as orators symbolised their engagement with political reality. Both had overcome the strict dichotomy believed to have existed between the political and the scholarly, between the *bios praktikos* and the *bios theôrêtikos*;[114] both attained political eminence, yet were also able to be prolific scholars. This need not mean that their respective political careers were dictated by their philosophical beliefs: indeed, Cicero himself at times saw these aspects of his career as distinct, and he makes this division explicit in comments to Atticus in 59 (*Ad Att.* 2.16.3), announcing a resumption of his philosophical investigations which is coupled with a withdrawal from active politics. For Cicero, the engaged and the contemplative lives, the *bios praktikos* and the *bios theôrêtikos*, are alternative pathways, not ones both followed at once,[115] and at *De Finibus* 5.19.53 (= Demetr. 36 SOD)

---

[113] It is notable that Cicero describes the influence of philosophical study (in his case, in the Academy) on his own rhetorical style in terms markedly reminiscent of his description of Demetrius' philosophically imbued rhetoric: with *Brutus* 37 compare *Orator* 12.

[114] Long 1995, esp. 39, 50–51 noted that, for Cicero, an overriding interest was the integration of philosophy with politics and rhetoric (against the prevalent view which saw philosophy as a pursuit at odds with civic engagement). Cf. Görler 1989, esp. 247–50. On Cicero's argument for the union of philosophy and political oratory, which would have endeared Demetrius to him, see for example *De Orat.* 1.53–54, 3.72; *Orat.* 11–19; *De Off.* 1.1.2–3.

[115] For this sentiment, compare too *Ad Att.* 2.12.4, with Cicero there categorizing himself as a philosopher during his withdrawal from public life. It is worth noting that in *Ad Att.* 2.16.3, Cicero ascribes to Theophrastus, that close associate of Demetrius, a stance advocating a devotion to the *bios theôrêtikos* and the rejection of the *bios praktikos*.

he claims the very same division of labour for Demetrius of Phalerum:

> That's why many, when they are in the power of enemies or tyrants, many when in prison, many when in exile, have alleviated their sorrow by learned studies. The leader of this state, Demetrius of Phalerum, when he had been unjustly expelled from his country, went to King Ptolemy in Alexandria. Since he excelled in this very philosophy which we urge you to pursue, and (since) he was a student of Theophrastus, he wrote many excellent things in that miserable retirement, not for any practical use of his own, for he was debarred from affairs; no, this cultivation of the mind was to him as it were a sustenance of his humanity.

While some allowance may be made for some shaping by Cicero of his representation of Demetrius, a shaping designed to draw more distinctly the parallels he perceived between himself and the Phalerean, it remains possible that the comparison he draws permits a more accurate assessment of Demetrius as philosopher / statesman. It is significant, again, that the comment on Demetrius at *De Legibus* 3.14 (= Demetr. 57 SOD, quoted above), the comment which, of all ancient testimonia, comes closest to claiming a Peripatetic programme in Demetrius' politics,[116] in reality serves to introduce a comparison with Cicero himself. To the question there asked—"but whom besides this man [Demetrius] can one readily find who is so strong on both scores that he is first both in learning and in ruling the state?"—Cicero's putative interlocutor predictably points to Cicero. Few would cast Cicero as the author, in his consulship, of a programme dictated by his Academic affiliations, despite the fact that he wrote many treatises (including his *De Legibus, De Re Publica* and dialogues such as the *Tusculan Disputations*) in genres traditionally associated with Academic studies; what Cicero represented was an individual able to attain prominence in two fields, politics and philosophy, fields often deemed incompatible by contemporary opinion. It may be that Demetrius was a similar phenomenon: not a politician trained in tyranny by the Peripatos, but someone able to lead both a *bios praktikos* and a *bios*

[116] Even here, it is not entirely clear that Cicero means that Demetrius' political activity as such was informed by his Peripatetic education, rather than that his political writing (i.e. his rhetoric) was so informed. After all, the metaphor used at *De Leg.* 3.14, of a movement from the shady retreat of scholarship into the dust and battle of the forum, is identical to the one he employs at *Brutus* 37 (= Demetr. 121 SOD) for Demetrius' use of philosophical style in his oratory.

theôrêtikos with equal success. The rarity of this combination, contradicting as it did the assumed conflict between the two ways of life, no doubt encouraged Demetrius' enemies to highlight his philosophical endeavours in order to undermine his political life. It ought not similarly beguile us into seeing Demetrius as a philosopher-king. Rather, due credit should be given Demetrius for his diverse talents: for his mastery as a scholar *and* as a ruler.

CHAPTER SIX

ATHENS AND CASSANDER

6.1 *The years 317–307: a narrative history*

Detailing Cassander's settlement of Athens in 317, Diodorus (18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD) writes baldly that Demetrius

> assumed the supervision of the city and ruled in a peaceful and—in relation to the citizens—caring way.

In one sense, Diodorus is correct in his assertion that Demetrius' decade in power proved to be a time of peace for Athens, since no armed conflict occurred on Attic soil after his installation in power. His glancing summary of the regime completely disguises, however, the turmoil and turbulence of the wider Greek world in which Demetrius had to survive. Elevated to power by Cassander, Demetrius' fortunes and those of Athens were inextricably linked to those of their Macedonian hegemon, and Cassander's fate was by no means assured. Internecine struggles between the Macedonian Diadochoi were rife in the last two decades of the fourth century, and Cassander was embroiled in these conflicts. Indeed, for much of the period of Demetrius' rule, Cassander's position was extremely tenuous, and Demetrius' own hold on power would often have been under threat before his actual expulsion in 307. Charting Athens' passage through this decade of strife is one theme of this chapter.

Like the period of Antipater's ascendancy before it, but on a larger scale, the decade of Cassander's control of Athens allows us to explore the complex dynamic between Macedonian hegemon and subject Greek state. The relationship between Cassander and Athens was defined among the peace terms of 317: Cassander stipulated that the Athenians be "friends and allies" (Diod. 18.74.3 = Demetr. 16A SOD). Just what that friendship and alliance might mean, in practical terms, is the second main concern here.

Turbulence and upheaval preceded Demetrius of Phalerum's ascendancy. When he negotiated an accommodation with Cassander for his

native city in early 317, he succeeded in bringing to a close a war that had divided Attic territory for the previous year. This achievement is celebrated in a decree that the Attic deme Aixone moved to honour Demetrius shortly after the settlement: so *IG* ii^2 1201 (= Demetr. 16B SOD)

> ... when a war [arose] in the land and a division existed between [the Piraeus] and the city on account of the [war, by his negotiations] he reconciled the Athenian[s and once again] restored (them) to unity and a state of peace [was procured] for the [A]thenians and their territory.

The main narrative account of the capitulation of Athens, found in Diodorus, gives a frustratingly inadequate treatment of that war. In fact, Diodorus' work omits completely the interval spanning from the end of the campaign season of 318 (with Polyperchon's withdrawal from Megalopolis—above, 38) to the Athenian agreement with Cassander. The manoeuvres of the Athenian assemblies which resolved eventually to treat with Cassander are included merely as a brief prospective narrative at the end of book eighteen (18.74.1–3 = Demetr. 16A SOD), in which Diodorus is rounding off Greek affairs before a turn to Sicilian events in book nineteen:

> When the Athenians were unable to get rid of the garrison by the aid of either Polyperchon or Olympias, one of those citizens who were accepted leaders risked the statement in the Assembly that it was for the advantage of the city to come to terms with Cassander. At first, a clamour was raised, some opposing and some supporting his proposal, but when they had considered carefully what was the expedient course, it was unanimously determined to send an embassy to Cassander and to arrange affairs with him as best they could.

This is all we get from Diodorus; when he focuses again on mainland Greece in any detail (at 19.11.1), he resumes affairs in late 317, just before the death in Macedon of the king Philip Arrhidaeus in October of that year.[1]

From this compressed account (which leaves even the timing of the Athenian capitulation unclear), the scope of the war in Attica would appear to have been limited to the occupation of the Piraeus and Munychia by Cassander and Nicanor. But other sources may furnish

---

[1] The chronology of the events of the last two decades of the fourth century in general continues to provoke heated debate; for recent contributions to this topic, and in particular on the chronology of the Third Diadoch War (below) see Anson 2007, Boiy 2007 and Wheatley 2007.

evidence that the conflict was more active and widespread. A key text is the inscription, dating from the Attic month Gamelion in 317, published as *Agora* XVI no. 105. This is a decree moved by the Athenian assembly at the behest of an individual (whose identity is lost), honouring certain élite forces (*epilektoi*) of the Athenian tribe Kekropis for killing certain unnamed enemies.[2] With it has been associated *IG* ii^2 1209, another decree (unfortunately undated) honouring *epilektoi*;[3] it records a night raid on certain walls which was repelled by a band of *epilektoi;* some of the enemy were slain, others taken captive, and the *epilektoi* deposited the spoils on the Acropolis.

These two inscriptions may well be documenting clashes prior to the city's fall to Cassander. The surviving details of the skirmishes in which the *epilektoi* took part are easily accommodated in the lead-up to that capitulation. The enemy upon whom the *epilektoi* inflicted a defeat are most easily identified as a detachment from the stronghold at Munychia or the Piraeus; the individual commending the *epilektoi* to the Athenians for preferment in *Agora* XVI no. 105 may have been either Polyperchon, with whom the democrats were in contact, or his son Alexander, to whom the security of Athens had been entrusted. The mention of a night raid in *IG* ii^2 1209 is of particular interest. The proximity of Cassander's forces in the garrisons would have enabled the launch of surprise night raids on Athens' famous Long Walls or indeed on the walls of the citadel itself. Nicanor had successfully employed a similar ploy to take the Piraeus immediately after Antipater's death

---

2 Published earlier as *SEG* 21.319, this inscription bears the archon name Archippus. That this is Archippus II (318/17) rather than Archippus I (321/20) is confirmed by the appearance of the *anagrapheus* (compare too the comments accompanying the original publication of the stone as no. 5 in Oliver 1935, 35–37 esp. 36).

3 A date of 317 for *IG* ii^2 1209, although not proven, is widely accepted: see Whitehead 1986, 391–92. Some believe that the *epilektoi* activity of *Agora* XVI no. 105 took place *after* the fall of Athens, and thus offer rather different interpretations of its context (so Roussel 1941 and Dušanić 1965). That *Agora* XVI no. 105 belongs prior to the installation of Demetrius is, however, confirmed by the fact that it was passed before *IG* ii^2 350 (discussed below, n. 7), a decree that must belong to the democratic government backed by Polyperchon. The enactment of *Agora* XVI no. 105 prior to the capitulation to Cassander also renders more straightforward the political context of *Agora* XVI no. 104, a decree passed on the same day as no. 105; this decree, in which honours are voted for an individual from Heracleia for his benefactions concerning a battle, has been associated with Athenian naval engagements at Abydos in the Lamian War (see Woodhead's notes on *Agora* XVI no. 104 ll.14–23). Such recognition of events associated with the Lamian War may perhaps be more likely during the period of democratic resurgence.

in late 319, and *IG* ii^{2} 1209 may record just such an attempt by the Cassandran forces in Gamelion, 317. Pausanias (1.25.5–6) may supply incidental corroboration that Cassander did in fact launch an assault on the Long Walls, when he records that after the initial investiture of Munychia in the wake of the Lamian War, the Macedonian garrison subsequently claimed the Piraeus and the Long Walls. That Nicanor took the Piraeus harbour and its walls is well known from Diodorus (18.64.4) and Plutarch (*Phoc.* 32.5), but neither of those writers mentions any capture of the Long Walls. Pausanias may yet be correct that they fell, in which case the inscriptions honouring the Athenian *epilektoi* may record an initial, successful move by the Athenians to repel the Macedonian advance before Cassander managed to occupy the walls (perhaps shortly after the promulgation of *Agora* XVI no. 105 in Gamelion, 317).

With control of Munychia, Piraeus and (perhaps) the Long Walls by mid-317, Cassander's grip on Athens was tightening; by this time he may even have brought Salamis under his control and established another garrison in Attic territory at Panactum, if a rather diffuse notice to that effect in Pausanias (1.25.5–6) refers to 317 and not to a later campaign.[4] Salamis had certainly been of interest to Cassander. Even before the overthrow of Phocion, the Piraeus garrison commander, Nicanor, had been organising a mercenary force there, and Cassander himself besieged the island in mid-318; that initial attempt had been successfully deterred by the intervention of Polyperchon's fleet (Diod. 18.69.1–2), but by early 317 that fleet had been neutralised, and Pausanias could be correct that Cassander had taken the island. In addition to Salamis and Panactum, there may even have been a Cassandran presence established at Phyle, although the evidence for this is still more tenuous: it relies chiefly on Philochorus' listing of Phyle as a fortification in the book of his histories devoted to the Phalerean period (*FGrHist.* 328 F62).[5] It has also been suggested—and again the connection is tangential—that the location of Phyle as the

[4] Cassander had control of Panactum during the 'Four Years' War' of 307–3: so Plut. *Demetr.* 23.2, with Oliver 2007, 116–19 on Cassander's control of the Attic *khora* in these years. Pausanias' reference could be to this time, but the context in which Pausanias mentions Cassander's acquisitions (although rather chronologically vague) does seem to apply to an earlier period.

[5] The description of Phyle as a garrison need not, of course, have been restricted to the period of its occupation by Cassander: it had certainly been fortified in earlier times.

site of the action in Menander's *Dyskolos*, a play produced in the first year of Demetrius' rule, may have been a response to the recent presence of a Cassandran garrison there.[6]

Faced with Cassander's expanding influence, the turbulent Athenian assemblies to which Diodorus alludes must have canvassed every possible avenue of assistance to stave off the looming collapse of the democracy. Diplomatic overtures to potential allies in the fight against Cassander are an obvious possibility, and inscriptional evidence once more may fill in the gaps left by the narrative sources. In the Athenian month Anthesterion (thus some weeks after the skirmishes for which the *epilektoi* had been honoured), Polyeuctus of Sphettus initiated honours for two individuals from Apollonia and Epidamnus (*IG* ii^2 350).[7] These honours must have been bestowed before the democracy fell to Cassander. The profile of the proposer, Polyeuctus, makes it unthinkable that he continued to be politically prominent under the following regime: a consistent advocate of war against Macedon from the time of King Philip right through to the Lamian War, a man who had clashed with those who came to lead Antipater's oligarchy, Polyeuctus was too outspoken a critic of Macedonian influence in Athens, and it would do an injustice to the consistency of his documented policies to posit a pragmatic shift.[8] His proposal in Anthesterion 317 may well have been

---

[6] See Gomme & Sandbach 1973, 135 (with 128–29 on the date of the play) who tentatively identify an allusion to a Macedonian garrison. They assume, however, that such a garrison was in existence when *Dyskolos* was performed; it is argued below that Cassander retained a presence only in the Piraeus after his settlement with Athens.

[7] The assignation of *IG* ii^2 350 to the year 318/17 is not unanimously accepted. The top of the *stêlê* bearing the archon details is lost, and the key consideration used for the dating has been the demotic of the secretary, preserved as [K]ollyteus; a secretary of that deme held office in 318/17 (compare *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 31). Breslin 1985 objects to the 317 date, on the grounds that Polyeuctus is listed by the *Suda s.v. Antipatros* among the orators demanded by Antipater in 322 and must have been dead by 317. He prefers 331/30, a year in which the secretary ought also to have had Kollyteus as his demotic. The *Suda*, however, deserves little credence, as the list is obviously a conflation of those demanded in 335 by Alexander (of whom Polyeuctus was one) as well as those demanded by Antipater. On epigraphical considerations, 318/17 remains a more likely context than 331/30. The demotic of the secretary of 331/30 is not actually anywhere attested, nor can the name of the archon of 331/30 be accommodated easily in the prescript of *IG* ii^2 350. For the 318/17 dating see Schweigert 1939, 33–34; Meritt 1974, 464 argued initially for 331/30, but later (Meritt 1976, 173) opted for 318/17. If we accept that *IG* ii^2 350 does indeed belong to 318/17, it becomes the last documented action from the democratic regime, and thus furnishes a terminus in Anthesterion for the city's capitulation to Cassander, on which further below.

[8] Compare Plut. *Demos.* 23, Arr. 1.10.4, [Plut.] *Mor.* 846d, Plut. *Phoc.* 9.5. He was also prosecuted during the 'Harpalus affair', if he is the Polyeuctus named at Din.

aimed at garnering support for the ailing democracy. Epidamnus and Apollonia, the native cities of the honorands, were centres noted for their implacable hostility to Cassander's cause, and an Apollonian citizen had been recognised in Athens in 319/18 for his contributions to the newly restored Athenian democracy.[9] These northern cities would have been natural allies against Cassander in Athens' hour of need.

Another natural ally was the 'queen mother', Olympias, who was opposed to the cause of Cassander and who had already lent her name to the cause of the removal of the Munychia garrison. In mid-317 that lady was stationed in her homeland, Epirus (Diod. 18.49.4), while contemplating a return to Macedonia.[10] Now there is mention in Polyeuctus' decree of Athenian ships stationed near Epidamnus, and Osborne has postulated a connection between these ships and Olympias.[11] The Athenian democrats, and those northern cities hostile to Cassander, cities such as Apollonia and Epidamnus, would have been obvious centres of assistance for Olympias, both in terms of maintaining her control of Epirus and effecting a return to Macedon. Athenian support for Olympias, perhaps through the provision of the ships alluded to in Polyeuctus' decree, would have been calculated to encourage her to intervene materially in the Piraeus garrison issue.

In the end, however, the Athenian efforts, both military and diplomatic, came to naught. The victory of their *epilektoi* over a force of unspecified size, a victory celebrated in the decree of Gamelion, would have been but one positive outcome in a series of setbacks for the democracy's cause, and (if *Agora* XVI no. 105 and *IG* ii^2 1209 do refer to the same event) it may have been a relatively minor victory at that: the insistence in *IG* ii^2 1209 that those killed by the *epilektoi* were "not a small number" looks rather like special pleading. The promulgation in Gamelion of a decree recording the victory may be understood as

1.100 (so Worthington 1992, 270); he may also be the Polyeuctus named as a target of a Dinarchan speech in a third century rhetorical treatise, *P. Oxy.*1804 frag.3 ll.7–8.

[9] Polyaen. 4.11.4 on conflict between Epidamnus and Cassander in 314/13; Diod. 19.67.6–7 on Apollonia and Cassander in the same year. These cities may have been among the few Illyrian and Thracian centres to join Athens in the Lamian war (Diod. 18.11.1). For honours to Alcimachus of Apollonia in late 319, *IG* ii^2 391.

[10] She had withdrawn there in 319 due to a quarrel with Antipater, a quarrel which she continued with his son Cassander. In 319/18, Polyperchon was encouraging her to return to Macedon to assume the case of Alexander's infant son, who had been entrusted to Polyperchon's regency (Diod. 18.49.4). For Olympias' policies in this period, see Carney 2006, esp. 60–87.

[11] Osborne 1982, 108 and earlier Schweigert 1939, 33.

an attempt to sustain belief in the viability of the democracy, but the ultimate decision to enter talks with Cassander was almost inevitable. Diodorus' account of the assemblies at which the Athenians resolved to negotiate gives the impression that the Athenians sought to negotiate before their position became impossible. Surely not long after the promulgation of Polyeuctus' decree in Anthesterion, they formally determined to send an embassy to Cassander and arrange affairs with him "as best they could."[12] The resolution was, no doubt, informed by Athens' experience with Antipater in 321; the *dêmos* then had refused to countenance diplomacy until it was in no position to negotiate, and the Macedonian regent had, as a result, been able to make peace talks conditional upon the surrender of all Athenian interests to his discretion (Diod. 18.18.3, cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 26.3–27.1). The extent to which the Athenians were really able to bargain even in 317 may be seriously questioned. The impression of voluntary negotiations given by Diodorus' abbreviated account is rather undermined by the background of conflict traced in the inscriptions; Athens may not have been in a position to demand many concessions at all.

The terms resulting from the talks were to shape Athenian foreign affairs for the next decade.[13] Athens was granted a degree of independence, although there is no explicit guaranteee of *autonomia* in the surviving terms. She was, nonetheless, to retain her revenues, navy and "everything else" (*t'alla panta*: this must entail those islands in the Aegean still under Athenian yoke, such as Lemnos, Delos, and Imbros, although Samos remained free of Athenian interference). The city was at last re-unified with its harbour: not, of course, in the manner the Athenians had hoped through the removal of the Piraeus garrison, but by acceptance in the city of the Piraeus' master; a nominal limit was, however, imposed on the duration of the garrison, for it was supposedly to remain only while Cassander was still at war with Polyperchon. Further, from the provision that the Athenians were to have their own territory, it may be inferred that the negotiations also secured the removal of any hostile fortifications in the countryside; after Tracy's radical redating of *IG* ii^2 2971 (= Demetr. 162 SOD, a decree by garrisons at Panactum, Phyle and Eleusis honouring a

[12] Diod. 18.74.1–2, where the retention of standard decree terminology (*eipein* and *edoxe*) hints that Diodorus is paraphrasing the actual motions framed in those assemblies.

[13] The constitutional aspects of the settlement are treated fully in chapter three.

Demetrius of Phalerum), this inscription can no longer be cited as contrary evidence for armed presences (Macedonian or Athenian) in these locations during Demetrius' rule.[14]

In some ways, the fate of the city under Cassander mirrored its experience under Alexander. Through the alliance and symmachy, Cassander had access to Athenian resources, and could exert indirect control over Athenian involvement with other power centres. To this extent, the independence granted Athens in the settlement was merely nominal, constrained by the friendship and alliance that made Athenian military deployments subject to the consideration of the Macedonian. There was, on the other hand, a more positive parallel with the experience of Alexander: Cassander's hegemony also gave rise to a prolonged period of relative stability in Athens. No armed engagements within Attica are documented during the period of Demetrius of Phalerum's ascendancy; an invasion by Antigonus' general, Polemaeus, in 313/12 (below, 268ff) was countered by diplomacy. This internal stability, as noted above, is foreshadowed by Diodorus in his summary of the settlement (18.74.2): Demetrius "ruled peacefully".

The peace under Cassander was, however, much more fragile than it had been under Alexander. Its continuation was manifestly dependent on the status of Cassander, and he lacked the legitimacy of rule that Alexander had enjoyed. He was required continually to defend his claim to power against the rival bids from the surviving members of Alexander's circle of friends and advisors, and this meant that the dominance of Athens by Demetrius of Phalerum was vulnerable. It was a vulnerability most keenly felt in Athens in the first year of the new regime, while Cassander struggled to cement his position in Greece and Macedonia against the opposing forces of Polyperchon and Alexander. Cassander had some valuable assets: Greek states throughout the Peloponnese had defected from Polyperchon's cause, and he still had those alliances (established earlier, before the fall of Athens) with Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt, and with Antigonus Monophthalmus (Diod. 18.49.3, 54.3). But his ambition was to carve out a realm in Macedonia itself, and in early 317 his position there was far from secure. The Macedonian nobility had supported Polyperchon from the time of Antipater's death in 319, and Polyperchon continued to

[14] Tracy 1995, 43–5, 171–74.

exercise the official guardianship of the two Macedonian kings, Philip Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV. Moreover, the legitimacy of Cassander's key ally, Antigonus, had been challenged, with Polyperchon declaring him a rebel against the authority of the kings in late 319 (Diod. 18.57.3); in early 317, Antigonus found himself engaged with the armies of Eumenes, a former Greek secretary of Alexander the Great whom Polyperchon (acting under the auspices of the monarchs) had elevated in 319 to the position of supreme commander of all Asia.

Despite his success in bringing Athens under his control, then, Cassander's long-term prospects of securing power in Macedon itself, and thus of sustaining his influence in the Greek mainland, were uncertain. An immediate threat was even closer at hand, within Attica itself. Cassander's first act after imposing his settlement on Athens was to rid himself of his garrison commander, Nicanor, whose loyalty he no longer trusted (Polyaen. 4.11.2; Diod. 18.75.1). As the son of Antipater's favourite daughter, Phila, Nicanor was Cassander's nephew; he was related also to Antigonus, to whose son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Phila had been married.[15] With such family connections, he had sufficient pedigree to entertain independent ambitions. The substance of Cassander's suspicions is not related by the sources, but Nicanor had clearly won over the loyalty of the garrison troops. Cassander was compelled to move quickly. Events were moving rapidly in Macedonia itself, and he needed to secure Athens, both militarily and politically, in order to take advantage of promising recent developments in the Macedonian court,[16] where the support of the Macedonian nobles for Polyperchon was beginning to fragment. (Cassander even received a letter from sympathisers in Macedon urging him to act on growing local disaffection: so Polyaenus 4.11.2). Nicanor was thus lured from the garrison on the pretext of a secret conference, and Cassander, having executed his young nephew, embarked at once on the first of two invasions of Macedon undertaken in this year.

The initial campaign was of little consequence. Although Cassander did manage to capture Polyperchon's stable of war-elephants (Diod. 19.35.7), he was unable to inflict a decisive defeat on his opponent, and he withdrew to the Peloponnese to secure additional strongholds there.

---

15 On Nicanor's identity, see Bosworth 1994.

16 For the sequence of events, see Bosworth 1992, 72 n. 85, rejecting Dušanić 1965, 137ff who would follow the prologue of Justin 14 in putting the death of Nicanor after Cassander's invasion of Macedon.

Soon after this departure, however, the Macedonian élite was thrown into still greater turmoil. Eurydice, the wife of King Philip Arrhidaeus, had determined to establish herself (and her husband) as a power independent of the control of Polyperchon and Olympias; this she accomplished by transferring the guardianship of the monarchs from Polyperchon to Cassander (Justin 14.5.1–4). Her move polarised the court. On one side was Eurydice, with her mentally deficient husband, Arrhidaeus; ranged against them were Polyperchon and Olympias (who now had in her care the other monarch, the infant Alexander IV). Polyperchon and Olympias mobilised forces from Epirus, and began exacting vengeance on their opponents: Philip Arrhidaeus and Eurydice were both slain, and Olympias inflicted an awful punishment on Cassander's immediate family, killing one brother and desecrating the tomb of another (Diod. 19.11). These actions prompted Cassander to a second invasion (ca. late September, 317),[17] which ultimately proved much more telling than the first. Despite his initial setbacks, the eventual outcome in early 316 was victory for Cassander; Queen Olympias was vanquished after a protracted siege, and Polyperchon reduced to insignificance, giving Cassander control over the sole remaining monarch, Alexander IV (Diod. 19.35–37, 49–51). Cassander's ally in Asia, Antigonus, had also strengthened his position, emerging victorious from his clash with Eumenes over the winter of 317/16 (see Diod. 19.44.2 for the death of Eumenes). Within Macedon, Cassander moved at once to consolidate his newly won supremacy by forging personal ties with the house of Alexander the Great, marrying Alexander's half-sister Thessalonice (Diod.19.52.1; Justin 14.6.13). His claim to legitimacy was further advertised by the royal burials he accorded Eurydice and Arrhidaeus.

The invasions of Macedon were thus finally successful, and with the benefit of hindsight it is easy to overlook how threatened Cassander's position had been throughout 317 and how precarious the regime in Athens was as a consequence at this time. We do, however, get a rare and fleeting glimpse of the climate in Athens from the sketch of the 'story monger' in Theophrastus' *Characters* (8.6–8). Speaking against the backdrop of the first invasion of Macedon, Theophrastus' gossip-merchant spreads a false report of Cassander's defeat at the hands of Polyperchon, and when asked by his audience for corroboration, he

[17] For the chronology, see Bosworth 1992, 71.

volunteers as proof the reaction of Demetrius and his associates: their demeanours have changed, so the story monger asserts, to which he adds a rumour that Demetrius' coterie, in an attempt to suppress the news and shore up its own position, has hidden away under 'house arrest' an eyewitness of Polyperchon's supposed victory. As we have seen, the feared defeat by Polyperchon did not eventuate, and Cassander moved quickly to consolidate his supremacy; yet even then, the long-term survival of Cassander, and hence the continued stability of Demetrius' regime in Athens, could not be assured. Polyperchon's son, Alexander, still controlled a significant force in the Peloponnese and had made strategic gains there while Cassander was resident in Macedon;[18] to the north, Aetolia maintained an implacable hostility to Cassander.[19]

While the broader political situation was scarcely stable, Athens remained restive. Scattered through the sources are traces of the machinations that continued within that city. Athenians who had gone into exile in 317, no doubt as opponents of Demetrius, looked to Aetolia: Dionysius of Halicarnassus knew of a speech (attributed wrongly to the orator Dinarchus: Dion. Hal. *De Din.* 11) in which such Athenian exiles appealed to that northern state for aid against Cassander. Any undermining of Cassander would jeopardise Demetrius of Phalerum's regime, and those dissatisfied with the 317 settlement were well aware of that fact.

On the other side of the political spectrum, some elements in Athens (led most probably by Demetrius himself) actively engaged in consolidating Cassander's hold on the Greek mainland. When Cassander, aiming to reduce the army still maintained in the Peloponnese by Polyperchon's son Alexander, moved in 316 to rebuild Thebes, Demetrius' Athens supported the venture. It was a mutually beneficial policy. For Cassander's part, Pausanias (9.7.2) attributes the initiative to a hatred for the house of Alexander (who had destroyed the city twenty years earlier); Diodorus, to a desire for undying fame (19.52.2). We may suspect rather that the primary motives were military concerns and strategic interests. A re-fortified Thebes provided a counterbalance to the Aetolian League, which had hampered Cassander's

---

[18] See Diod. 19.53.1 on Alexander's gains, which compelled Cassander to spend much of the campaign season of 316 in the Peloponnese (Diod. 19.54.1–4).

[19] Aetolia sheltered Polyperchon and the remains of his allied Epirote army in 317/16 (Diod. 19.52.6). For its later anti-Cassander policies, see Diod. 19.74.3ff, 20.20.1ff.

passage into Greece by blockading Thermopylae (Diod. 19.53.1). Access to the Peloponnese was vital to the Macedonian hegemon, and Cassander could hope that a renascent Thebes, beholden to him for its very existence, would secure that access.[20] The undermining of both Aetolia and Alexander were objectives from which Demetrius of Phalerum stood also to gain, and Athens thus contributed significantly to the undertaking across her border. Of the many Greeks to contribute to the reconstruction of Thebes, the Athenians were among the most generous: Diodorus credits them with the building of the greater part of the city walls.[21]

A threat to Cassander emerged from a different quarter in late 316. In the closing months of that year, the network of relationships binding Cassander and some of the eastern Diadochs, such as Antigonus and Ptolemy, began to crumble, and the resulting frictions sparked a fresh conflict known widely in modern scholarship as the Third Diadochan War.[22] His defeat of Eumenes during the winter of 317/16, and his later acquisition of the royal treasuries of Susa, had elevated Antigonus to a position of unrivalled prestige in Asia, and during the course of 316 he had been acting in an increasingly autocratic fashion, creating and deposing satraps as he pleased without even nominal reference to the kings (Diod. 19.48.1–8). This overbearing behaviour was the trigger for renewed fighting. The immediate cause came from Antigonus' demand that Seleucus, who had been confirmed as satrap of Babylonia in 320, render an account of his administration of his province. This was unwarranted interference, and the Babylonian satrap, fearing that Antigonus meant to depose him, fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. There was a flurry of diplomatic activity in an attempt to avert the looming conflict: Seleucus and Ptolemy sent envoys to Cassander and to Lysimachus, satrap of Thrace, alleging that Antigonus harboured designs against all those Macedonian leaders capable of rivalling him; Antigonus

[20] In the short-term, Cassander's strategy achieved its desired effect, and he was able to spend the campaign season of 316 working to secure the Peloponnese from Alexander.

[21] Benefactors of Thebes are listed by Diod. 19.54.1–2, Paus. 9.7.2, and the inscription published as Holleaux 1938, 1–40 (inscription 1); both Diodorus and Pausanias single out the Athenians for special mention. The attempt by Seibert 1970, 344 to identify individual Athenians in the inscription listing Theban benefactors is ingenious, perhaps overly so.

[22] The first two Diadochan wars were that of Antigonus, Craterus and Antipater against Perdiccas in 320; and that of Antigonus against Eumenes from 319.

himself sent embassies to Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, urging them to uphold their existing friendship with him (Diod. 19.56.1–4). Diplomacy failed when Antigonus rejected out of hand the ultimatum presented by his colleagues, an ultimatum which included a division of Antigonus' treasure and the further division of Asian provinces (with Cassander to acquire Cappadocia and Lycia, Ptolemy to gain Syria, and Babylonia to be returned to Seleucus). The winter of 316/15 saw Cassander, Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus unite in preparation for full-scale war.

This breakdown in Cassander's alliance with Antigonus naturally had ramifications for the stability of Greece. Faced with a coalition of opponents whose number was swelled by the addition of the Carian satrap Asander (Diod. 19.62.2), Antigonus sought to divide the allies' resources, and thus sent Aristodemus of Miletus into the Peloponnese with one thousand talents to raise mercenaries and to support Alexander, who was thereby encouraged into alliance with him (Diod. 19.57.5; 60.1). Cassander's stake in Greece was undermined further by Antigonid propaganda. In a proclamation issued from Tyre (Diod. 19.61.3), Antigonus denounced Cassander, declaring that he be voted an enemy unless he destroyed Thebes, and proclaimed the Greeks "free, without garrisons, and autonomous."

The impact in Athens of this rhetoric of liberation is not directly attested, and much of the early military activity resulting from the hostility between Cassander and Antigonus was concentrated in the Peloponnese rather than in central Greece.[23] There was instability also in the north. Antigonus' general, Aristodemus, took advantage of the long-standing hostility between Cassander and Aetolia to encourage the Aetolian League into alliance with Antigonus. Of greater moment to Athens itself than the possibility of direct attack was the naval programme undertaken by Antigonus as part of a co-ordinated plan against the allies. From his base in Old Tyre, where he had moved soon after the declaration of war, Antigonus organised a fleet (Diod. 19.58.1–6); initially, its activity was confined to the region around Tyre, which Antigonus finally took after a protracted siege of some fifteen months' duration, but once this city had been taken (probably

[23] Diod. 19.60.1; 19.62.5, 9; 19.63.3–64.4; 19.67.1–2; 19.74.1–2 for troop movements and clashes in the Peloponnese in the first years of the war.

late summer/early autumn, 314),[24] the fleet was directed toward the Greek mainland. Fifty ships were sent to the Peloponnese, and a sizable force of one hundred and ninety vessels was dispatched into the Aegean under Antigonus' nephew, Dioscorides, to guarantee the security of Antigonus' island allies and to win over others.[25]

Antigonus' push into the Aegean boded ill for Cassander. Not only a direct challenge to Cassander's authority over the Greek states, it threatened also the communication routes between him and his allies, making it difficult for them to orchestrate campaigns across diverse theatres of war; it could secure bases from which Antigonus could supply his Asian army, and facilitate a crossing from Asia to the Greek mainland.[26] It is in the context of this crisis that Athens was now called upon to honour her alliance with Cassander with military assistance. The relevant evidence comes from *IG* ii^2 682 (= *SIG*^{3} 409), a decree passed in the 250s for Phaedrus of Sphettus, the early lines of which document the career of the honorand's father, Thymochares, in the late fourth century. Two of the expeditions there listed, one against Hagnon of Teos in the waters off Cyprus, the second against a certain Glaucetas, have been linked to the moves orchestrated in late 316/15 by Cassander and Ptolemy against Antigonus (or more particularly in the case of the first episode, against those Cypriot kings who had transferred their allegiance to Antigonus during that conflict: Diod. 19.61–6).[27]

---

[24] Wheatley 1998.

[25] Diod. 19.62.7–9.

[26] See further Billows 1990, 111–12.

[27] Hauben 1974 cf. 1975, 102 n. 7 argues for the location of Thymochares' war on Hagnon in 316/15. He offers three further arguments for his later dating: one, that Perdiccas' commander on Cyprus is named as Sosigenes, not Hagnon (an objection expressed also by Hill 1940, 157 n. 1); second, that an Ephesian honorary decree from the first half of 321 (Keil 1913, 236 = block II section p) labels a Hagnon of Teos an associate of Craterus (a Macedonian general then at odds with Perdiccas); finally, that the wording of *IG* ii^2 682 itself makes likely a close temporal association of this campaign with Thymochares' next documented expedition (at Oreus), which is explicitly assigned to the archonship of Praxibulus (315/14: on this latter campaign, see 267). None of these is conclusive. *IG* ii^2 682 does not claim that Hagnon was a commander-in-chief; he may have commanded only one contingent within the broader Perdiccan fleet under Sosigenes' aegis (just as Thymochares himself, we may recall, may have commanded only the Athenian component of a fleet under the overall command of a Macedonian). The decree may, in fact, be documenting a clash between two subordinates. The Ephesian testimony to a Hagnon may possibly not refer to the same individual (so Habicht 1957, 162 n. 26), and even if it does, a pragmatic change of allegiances in the climate of shifting power in 321 is scarcely

In the case of the first expedition (that against Hagnon), this link is controversial, and probably wrong. No date is detailed in the inscription, and the issue is further complicated by the erasure of the identity of Thymochares' collaborators in the expedition;[28] so *IG* ii^2 682 ll. 5ff:

> He sailed with the ships which the *dêmos* sent out with [...ca. 20 letters...] and he jointly prosecuted the war in Cyprus, and he captured Hagnon of Teos and the ships with him.

A more likely context for this clash is, in fact, to be found in the push by Antipater and Antigonus against Perdiccas in 321,[29] and the weight of available evidence inclines towards this earlier date. An Athenian presence at Cyprus in that year is confirmed, albeit indirectly, by other sources. After the Lamian War, Antigonus had returned to Asia Minor; according to one possible restoration of the account of his activities by the historian Arrian (*FGrHist* 156 F10.B7), Antigonus may have been accompanied at that time by a small contingent of Athenian ships.[30] It seems that soon after this crossing, Antigonus was on Cyprus, as it was from there that Perdiccas recalled him to attend an assembly of the Macedonian powerbrokers at Triparadisus (so Arr. *FGrHist* 156 F9.30). The possibility that a naval encounter took place off Cyprus

---

inconceivable. (The state of flux in allegiances at this time is attested for the Ephesians themselves, who decreed honours for Perdiccas' subordinates immediately prior to this award for Hagnon: see Keil 1913, block II, section n). Lastly, the wording of *IG* ii^2 682 may in fact offer little guidance about the temporal relationship of Thymochares' two campaigns. While both mobilisations (for Cyprus and for Oreus) are prefaced by a single statement of Thymochares' tenure of the generalship, the lack of a separate listing of his office prior to the Oreus campaign need not (*pace* Hauben) indicate that both ventures belonged to a single term of office. Even if we were to suppose that the Cypriot episode belonged to 316/15, as Hauben urges, Thymochares would have had to be re-elected as general prior to the Oreus campaign: generals were elected anew at the start of each archon year, despite the fact that this could mean a change of high command mid-way through the campaign season: so Rhodes 1993, 676–77 on elections of *stratêgoi*. *IG* ii^2 682, then, cannot be pressed for such constitutional accuracy. This rejection of Hauben's dating for the naval activity off Cyprus has ramifications for the interpretation of other material, such as *SEG* 47.1568 (a proxeny decree from Caunos honouring two Athenians). Basing his argument on Hauben's dating, Descat 1998, 187–90 locates this proxeny decree in 314; perhaps preferable is the interpretation of Funke 1998, 211–228, who argues instead for the 340s or 330s.

[28] The loss was deliberate, not happenstance; the cause, a declaration following Philip's devastation of Attica in 200 ordering the erasure from Athenian decrees of Philip, his family and indeed of the entire Macedonian race. So Livy 31.44.6.

[29] Above, 34–35.

[30] On this fragment of Arrian see the commentary by Roos 1967 on his F25.1; cf. Diod. 18.23.4.

between Perdiccan supporters and Antigonus, still in possession of his Athenian flotilla, may be extrapolated from these known data. There is, in addition, evidence from an amphora decorated with figures of Nike with *aphlasta* (the curved poops of ships), that Athens scored a naval victory during the archonship of Archippus (321/20), and this may well tie in with Thymochares' mission.[31] By contrast, no Athenian mobilisation for 316/15, and indeed no Cassandran involvement, is attested by our main narrative source for that period, Diodorus, who does provide a reasonably detailed description of the forces mustered off Cyprus in this later season.[32]

Significant support for the earlier dating of Hagnon's activity may further be found in the wording and political context of *IG* ii^2 682 itself. Comparison with other inscriptions, and indeed with other passages within this decree for Phaedrus, demonstrates that the erasure of Antigonus' name is more likely than the erasure of Cassander's: the removal of Antigonus' name is attested elsewhere in other decrees (as noted by some commentators on *IG* ii^2 682);[33] Cassander's name, by contrast, has been left untouched only few lines later within *IG* ii^2 682 itself. Moreover, the decree was passed at a time at which Athens found herself under the aegis of Antigonus' descendants, and the shaping of the rest of Thymochares' career in the decree certainly suggests that its author was keen to minimise any collaboration in which Thymochares may have engaged with Cassander (who was one of Antigonus' most trenchant adversaries).[34] Consider, for example, the casting of Thymochares' 313 commands in aid of Cassander's assault on Oreus (*IG* ii^2 682 ll. 16–18; for this campaign, see also below, 267). This was an initiative undertaken against Antigonid forces, and it is known from Diodorus that the Athenian ships turned the tide of the engagement: Cassander had been almost driven from Oreus by the Antigonid fleet, but upon the arrival of the Athenians and the resulting naval victory, Cassander was able to continue his siege (Diod.

[31] For bibliography on the amphora, see Hauben 1974, 61 n. 1.

[32] The only allied forces engaged against the defecting Cypriot monarchs were those under Seleucus; a single Athenian is mentioned on Cyprus, but he was a mercenary commander, and he did not participate in the activity on Cyprus, being dispatched to assist Asander in Caria (Diod. 19.62.5).

[33] So Dittenberger, commentary on *SIG*^{3} 409 n. 2.

[34] For the association of Phaedrus, the honorand of *IG* ii^2 682, with restrictive regimes imposed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and subsequently with Antigonus Gonatas, see Dreyer 1999, 104, 189ff.

19.75.8). In *IG* ii^2 682, however, no mention is made of the defeat of the enemy Antigonid ships, or of the Athenians' decisive rôle in the affair; rather, the decree records the exemption, won from Cassander by Thymochares, of the Athenians from involvement in the siege works.[35] It is the release of the Athenians from their part in an action against Antigonus, not a naval victory scored over the Antigonid fleet, that is celebrated. Given this minimisation of services against Antigonus, the most fitting reconstruction of the disputed lines is that Thymochares was acting in concert with Antigonus in the waters off Cyprus in 321.

Thymochares' next campaign, however, belongs indubitably to the period of Demetrius' ascendancy in Athens and to the Third Diadochan War. According to ll.9–13, in the archon year of Praxibulus (315/14), Thymochares led an Athenian fleet against a certain Glaucetas, who was operating in the waters around Cythnos. Glaucetas' ships were not formally a part of Antigonus' Aegean fleet: Diodorus (19.67.2–9) names some Antigonid admirals but Glaucetas is not among them, and the wording of the decree is consistent with Glaucetas being not an admiral, but a pirate.[36] His activity might nonetheless be associated with the Antigonid foray into the Aegean. It is apparent that merchant and pirate ships co-operated with military fleets in this period: Antigonus' son Poliorcetes, for example, employed pirates (who, according to Diodorus, were allied to him) to heighten the visual impact of his fleet and plunder the countryside surrounding Rhodes in his 305

[35] *IG* ii^2 682 ll.13–18. The treatment of Thymochares' other expedition against Glaucetas may also be noted. Glaucetas is treated in the wording of the decree as a pirate, rather than as an Antigonid collaborator. Thymochares' victory over him is thus dissociated from the campaign against Antigonus.

[36] For Glaucetas as pirate, compare Habicht 1997, 62. The specification in l.12 of Glaucetas' vessels as *ploia*, or merchant/transport ships, rather than war ships, suggests this (see LSJ *s.v. ploion*; Ditt. *SIG*^{3} 409 n. 7), as does the claim at l.12–13 that, by defeating Glaucetas, Thymochares made the sea safe (*pareskeuasen asphaleian… tên thalattan*): this is surely language appropriate to the abolition of a pirate threat. Some have, however, still been inclined to view Glaucetas as a proper naval commander (Hauben 1975, 38–40 gives a convenient summary of prior scholarship). Hauben himself notes that Antigonus' own commission to Dioscorides employs anti-pirate language (see Diod. 19.62.9), and that Antigonus would have been rather hypocritical if he had himself engaged the services of pirates. Against this, it could be noted that Dioscorides was to make the sea safe for Antigonus' *allies*; Antigonus could quite comfortably still use pirates to discomfort the allies of his Diadochan foes. Moreover, Antigonus' fleet was occupied around Tyre for almost a year before he entrusted it to Dioscorides; he could profitably have looked to pirates to harass his enemies in the wider Aegean in the interim.

blockade of that city (Diod. 20.83.1–3; cf. 20.97.5). Antigonus may have been doing something similar: employing pirate vessels that could be encouraged in selective predation upon the coastal and island cities of his enemies.[37] By his plundering in the vicinity of Cythnos, Glaucetas manifestly represented a threat to Cassander's interests. The Cycladic islands, of which Cythnos is one, occupied a key location on the communications route between Asia and Greece and were thus vital to the co-ordination of campaigns against Antigonus by Cassander and his allies.[38] (The strategic significance of these islands is reflected in the continued struggle for control of them in the Diadochan period: in 314/13 a Cycladic League was created in Antigonus' name, with Delos as its centre.)[39] In this context, it may be readily assumed that the Athenians under Thymochares were operating off Cythnos with Cassander's mandate.

The victory scored by the Athenian fleet over Glaucetas proved but one positive outcome in a trend of setbacks for the city. Antigonus' promise of liberty was welcomed by many of the islands, particularly those such as Delos, Lemnos and Imbros which were still under Athenian hegemony in 315. Indeed, the presence of Antigonus' admiral, Dioscorides, appears to have encouraged all three centres to divest themselves of the Athenian yoke at this time. The last witness to Athens' control on Delos is an inscription from summer 314, after which a non-Athenian archon appears in the prescripts of Delian decrees (*IG* xi.2.138). The liberation of Lemnos in the early part of the archon year 314/13 is also revealed by the epigraphic records. The Athenian archon of that year, Nicodorus, is recognised on two extant Lemnian inscriptions (*IG* xii.8.18 and 19), and thereafter, as on Delos, a non-Athenian

[37] For further examples of pirates acting in the interests of military commanders, see Ormerod 1969, 123–24. Such use of pirates in co-ordinated naval strategies led in fact to the development of a new term, *peiratês*, a term which emerged early in the Diadochan period to denote pirate vessels working under the aegis of a commander (so Potter 1984, 234–35). A level of organization of pirates employed militarily is suggested by the use of the term *arkhipeiratês* of an individual serving with Poliorcetes at Rhodes (Diod. 20.97.5).

[38] Geagan 1968, 381–84 sought to find in an inscription cataloguing soldiers from Cos and Cythnos some evidence of an alliance between Antigonus and Cynthnos at the time of Glaucetas' activities in the area; his view has been called into question by Robert 1977, 23–24. (Robert himself proposed a connection between Thymochares' mobilisation near Cythnos and *IG* ii^2 549, an Attic decree honouring the people and a general of Cythnos; Tracy 1995, 38 n. 2, however, rejects a Phalerean date for this inscription.)

[39] See Merker 1970 and Buraselis 1982, 41–43, 60–67.

archon appears; Athens' dispatch of a fleet to Lemnos late in 314 (see below) confirms the loss of the island early in Nicodorus' archonship. Imbros may have gone over to Antigonus at the same time.

It is particularly regrettable, in this context, that there is insufficient evidence to establish conclusively the allegiance of Athens' most prized holding, Samos. The island had been freed from Athenian control in the late 320s when Alexander, following the promulgation of his 'Exiles' Decree', ruled that the island be returned to the Samians; this ruling, ratified by Perdiccas, had been briefly but ineffectually reversed by Polyperchon in 318. (For this convoluted series of pronouncements, see, in turn, Diod. 18.8.7 and *SIG*³ 312; Diod. 18.18.9; Diod. 18.56.7.) The existence of numerous Samian inscriptions honouring Antigonid officers does show that the island had ties to Antigonus in the early Diadochan period,[40] and many scholars have suggested that Samos may have been among the first of the Aegean islands to side with Antigonus, and may indeed have been allied to him well before he gave Dioscorides his commission in 315. With Samos perhaps already under Antigonid sway, and with the subsequent defection from Athenian suzerainty of Lemnos, Imbros and Delos, the Third Diadochan War was to prove a costly one for Athens.

Athens was given an opportunity to recoup its loss of Lemnos within months of that island's defection. At the instigation of Cassander, who conveyed his orders by letter to Demetrius of Phalerum and to his garrison commander at Munychia (Diod. 19.68.2–3 = Demetr. 21 SOD), an Athenian fleet was launched for Lemnos late in the sailing season of 314. The mission was clearly an instrument of Cassander's broader policy, for at the same time as he sent the Athenian ships into the Aegean, he sent an army into Caria (emerging at that time as the focal point of the war, where the cities allied to Asander, Seleucus and Ptolemy were under Antigonid threat). This two-fold mobilisation was aimed primarily at deterring any transfer of Antigonid troops from Asia to Europe. An Antigonid crossing was indeed a possibility, given the scale of the unrest which Aristodemus had provoked on the

[40] See especially *IG* xii.6.1.19, 44, 148; in his comments *ad loc.*, Hallof dates number 19 to the period ca. 321–306, and numbers 44 and 148 shortly after 322 (cf. Habicht 1957, on his decrees numbers 3,4 and 5). Most of the evidence for Antigonus' connections with the island, however, cannot be dated more precisely than the closing two decades of the fourth century. Shipley 1987, 171 dates Antigonus' hold of Samos to 320 on the basis of his position as general of Asia granted at the conference of Triparadisus. See also Billows 1990, 118 n. 45.

Greek mainland: the Peloponnese was in turmoil, Aetolia was making incursions into neighbouring Acarnania, and Cassander himself had been drawn into Illyria in mid-314 to secure the loyalty of that region. Antigonus may well have been encouraged by this turbulence, but Cassander adopted a pre-emptive approach, creating diversions so that Antigonus "might not have leisure for crossing over into Europe" (so Diod. 19.68.2). There was yet another aspect in which the Athenian mobilisation served Cassander's strategic needs, in that the Lemnos expedition may have been designed to distract Dioscorides from intercepting Cassander's own Caria-bound army (which is thought to have been sent from Pydna on the Macedonian coast).[41] As such, the initiatives were important for the whole coalition of satraps united against Antigonus, and so Ptolemy sent a fleet (commanded by Seleucus, the erstwhile Babylonian satrap) to support the Athenians at Lemnos. Cassander's own interests were, however, still predominant; it has been argued that Cassander may have harboured independent ambitions in Caria, so that his despatch of forces there may have been designed not just to aid Ptolemy and Seleucus as Diodorus suggests.[42]

Unfortunately for Cassander and Athens, the attempt on Lemnos was disastrous. The Athenian commander, a certain Aristotle, lost his fleet to a swift attack by Dioscorides, and the island remained under Antigonus' control (Diod. 19.68.2–4). The foray into Caria was no more successful. Cassander's generals were captured by their Antigonid counterparts, and over the winter of 314/13 Antigonus himself remained stationed beyond the Taurus mountains, waiting only for the winter weather to lift before pressing the advantage gained by his generals and leading his main army into Caria (Diod. 19.69.1–2).

Cassander was not the only Macedonian whose independent interests could be furthered by the Athenian fleet. The Carian satrap, Asander, also sought to cultivate Athenian support, no doubt for his own political and military survival. Asander's contact with the city is attested in an Athenian honorary decree, *IG* ii^2 450, which was passed in his honour in Gamelion 11 in the archonship of Nicodorus (late January–

---

[41] So Billows 1990, 119. For the launch of Macedonian ships from Pydna, see Hauben 1978, esp. 53–54. If a Cassandran convoy did indeed travel from Macedonia to the Carian coast, Lemnos (sited as it is on the communications route between Caria and Macedonia) would have furnished an excellent base to ease the passage of the forces.

[42] Descat 1998 argues cogently for Cassander's individual interest in Caria.

early February 313). The surviving portions of the decree document a number of benefactions, among them some assistance in the repatriation of Athenians (perhaps those captured or stranded during Athens' naval forays in the eastern Aegean).[43] The most interesting revelation of the decree, however, is that Asander had earlier come to Athens in person (perhaps late in the campaign season of 314) and contributed ships and men to the Athenians for their use.[44] The aim of Asander's generosity is unspecified, its exact timing unclear. His donations may have been intended, as some have argued, to augment the Athenian fleet that sailed against Lemnos in 314; alternatively, Asander may have been encouraging Athens to broaden her aims in the Aegean, and to make an attempt to regain control of Samos.[45] For Asander, Lemnos was of only tangential strategic significance; Samos, on the other hand, was vital. Asander was desperately manoeuvring against the Antigonid onslaught in Caria, an onslaught that Asander could have expected to comprise both land and naval invasions. Sympathetic Athenian control of Samos would have hampered an Antigonid fleet's access to the Carian coastline, thereby creating difficulties for the coordination of land and sea forces. Moreover, control of Samos was vital to the defence of the important base at Miletus, as Alexander's experience of the Persians (who had employed Samos as a base for a siege of Miletus) readily showed.[46] Samos was thus central to Asander's

---

[43] So *IG* ii^2 450 ll.23–25, with the restoration recommended by Lambert 1999, 130.

[44] Thus ll.18ff. The rendering offered here is based on the new verb reading (*par[eskhe]n* or *par[eikhe]n*, advanced by Lambert 1999 (in place of the *par[ekheta]i* printed by Osborne 1981a (his D42)).

[45] I argued earlier for a Samian connection in O'Sullivan 1997b; I there based some of my argument upon Osborne's restoration of the present tense verb *par[ekheta]i* in line 19 of *IG* ii^2 450, a reading which would have located Asander's donations to Athens in Gamelion 313 when the decree itself was passed. The new reading urged by Lambert 1999, 129 (given in the note above) would, however, locate Asander's donations at a time earlier than Gamelion, which does make possible, in temporal terms, the connection of Asander's donations with the 314 Lemnian expedition favoured by earlier commentators on this stone. But given the importance of Samos to Asander, and the relative insignificance of Lemnos to his concerns, the possibility of a Samian connection should not be ruled out (*pace* Gauthier 1998, 600 (entry 164)). I am inclined, however, to place any such attempt on Samos in late 314, rather than 313 as I argued in 1997b. Asander's contributions might have compensated Athens for her initial losses on Lemnos, and made it feasible for a subsequent attempt on Samos at the close of that campaign season.

[46] Arr. 1.19.8–9. The island had similarly featured in the engagements for Miletus in 413–411.

chances of survival, and Athens was the natural ally for a campaign which offered the chance to salvage some pride on her most valued possession, Samos—a prize possession for which she had once perhaps been willing to contemplate open conflict with Alexander the Great himself.[47]

Some kind of Athenian attempt to wrest control of Samos is suggested by two rather poorly preserved Samian inscriptions which document an attack on the island.[48] Unfortunately, the decrees themselves do not reveal the context of that attack, and Diodorus, our main narrative source for the period, does not provide a context for us. But it is tempting to place the attempt on Samos within the desperate struggles of late 314, and to connect with that attempt Asander's known contact with Athens. The Samian decrees themselves, after all, are consistent on epigraphical considerations with the era of the Third Diadochan War, and an Athenian offensive against Samos is readily incorporated into Diodorus' existing (and rather episodic)[49] treatment of the troop movements in this period. Antigonus had called out another navy under the admiral, Medius, from Phoenicia, probably late in 314 (Diod. 19.69.2–3),[50] and it is quite possible that this diversion came in response to allied activity around Samos, particularly when it is noted that Medius is next attested besieging Miletus (thus Diod. 19.75.4). That city is the first recorded target of the Antigonid invasion of Caria, and it may well have fallen early in 313: the Milesian *stephanephoroi* list records the Antigonid liberation of the city under the Milesian year 313/12, which ran from March 313 to February 312, and a date close to March 313 is thus tenable for the capitulation of Miletus itself.[51] Asander, well aware of the looming clash with Antigonus in 314, may

[47] On Athens' readiness to oppose the implementation of the Exiles' Decree, see Ashton 1983 (with cautions raised, however, by Worthington 1994).

[48] The pertinent decrees are *IG* xii.6.1.51 and 52, whose date formulae are unfortuately lost; stylistic considerations locate them in the late fourth century.

[49] There may well be gaps in Diodorus' record of affairs. Having abandoned the Carian narrative at 19.69 to devote his attention to events in Sicily, Rome, Thrace and the Peloponnese, Diodorus does not resume his account of affairs in Asia Minor until 19.75, with omissions quite possible in the interim. One might compare his treatment of the Lamian War, for which he gives accounts of discrete episodes rather than an overarching and complete narrative (so Bosworth 2003, 16).

[50] For the timing of Medius' summons, see Hauben 1978, 47–48. The timing of specific events in this Third Diadochan War is often difficult to pinpoint, as Diodorus' account shifts between diverse theatres of war and the temporal relationship between events in those diverse theatres is often vague: cf. above 242 n. 1.

[51] Diod. 19.75.3; Milesian *stephanephoroi* list no. 123 = Ditt. *SIG*^{3} 322.

well have attempted to forestall just such a sequence of events by fuelling Athenian ambitions on Samos in 314.

Any Athenian initiative against Samos, if that indeed is what took place in 314, appears to have been wholly ineffectual. One of the Samian inscriptions alludes to a siege being repelled by the Samians, and the indications are that the island, still in the control of its rightful inhabitants, remained steadfast in its adherence to Antigonus. (Indeed the Samians' success may have freed up some of them to be in a position to give military support to Carystus in the following year, when that city joined Antigonus' general Polemaeus in his campaign to liberate Athens itself from Cassander's grasp: on this, see Diod. 19.78.3. Such joint action between Carystus and the Samians has, at any rate, been advanced as the likely explanation for the existence of a rare early Hellenistic Carystian gold stater cast on the weight of Samian issues).[52] The failure at Samos in 314 would have dealt a blow to Athens' benefactor, Asander. According to Diodorus (19.75.1–5), he was forced to submit to Antigonus, but soon broke his oath of loyalty; Antigonus took swift retribution, and the whole satrapy of Caria was soon added to his expanding empire. Asander himself disappears from the historical record, but our Athenian decree in his honour may offer an avenue for speculation about his fate. Did Asander flee his satrapy and repair to Athens, the city that he had visited earlier (in 314, when he had made his donations of ships and men in person), and was it a renewed presence there in 313 that prompted the Athenians to vote honours to him? The timing is suggestive: Diodorus indicates that the generals Medius and Docimus took Miletus *after* Asander's brief rapprochement with Antigonus, and as we have seen, Miletus seems to have fallen early in 313. Moreover, if Asander was again present as an exile in Athens in early 313, the Athenians' move to honour him at that time, well after his earlier benefactions to the city and at a time when he was otherwise bereft of political power, becomes understandable.

This possible gain of a resident high-ranking Macedonian satrap would have been scant compensation for a campaigning season that had proved particularly disastrous for Athens. In 314–313, her influence in the Aegean had suffered markedly as a result of Antigonus' naval policies. Her traditional influence on Delos, Imbros, and Lemnos had been usurped; she had fought to reverse that process on

[52] On the Carystian stater, and its historical context, see Melville-Jones 1980.

Lemnos and failed. The breakdown in alliance between Cassander and Antigonus had at least offered a chance to recoup Samos, but Athens had proven unable to do so. Athenian power in the Aegean had not been so severely curtailed for over half a century, and it was to remain thus until Poliorcetes liberated Attica in 307/6 and restored Imbros to Athenian control. This season, perhaps more than any other, highlighted Athens' reduced standing on the wider stage of Greek affairs, her vulnerability in the cut and thrust of Macedonian warfare. Even so, the scale of her actual ship losses ought not be exaggerated. Athens proved able to furnish naval help to Cassander again within a year (on which, see below).

For Demetrius of Phalerum, the Aegean losses would not have been the only concern. His backer, Cassander, was not faring well in the course of the war, and the instability was moving ever closer to Athens. Losses for Cassander in Caria were soon compounded by reversals in the Peloponnese. Antigonus had strengthened his forces there, sending another fifty ships and infantry under one Telesphorus as a token of his concern for the freedom of the Greeks (Diod. 19.74.1).[53] Targeting the garrisons held for Cassander by Polyperchon's mercurial son, Alexander (who had been allied to Antigonus only for a short time before transferring his allegiance to Cassander), Telesphorus liberated all except Sicyon and the strategically positioned Corinth.[54]

Disaffection with Cassander was escalating in central Greece also. Representatives from Aetolia reached Antigonus just after his reduction of Caria in 313. Their mission was the formalisation of an alliance with Antigonus; the Aetolians had been encouraged into this move by the Antigonid general, Aristodemus, who was active in that region in 314 (Diod. 19.66.2, 67.3). Aetolia was joined in this alliance against Cassander by a new foe: Boeotia.[55] Once allied to Cassander, the Boeotians had been provoked by Cassander's rebuilding of Thebes, a move which had meant the reclamation of the Theban land that the Boeotians had divided among themselves after the devastation of the citadel in 336. (It is indeed possible that the garrison that Cassander

[53] On Telesphorus' identity and later career see Billows 1990 Append.III *s.v.* Telesphorus, in preference to Potter 1987.

[54] Diod. 19.74.1–2. Alexander himself had been murdered shortly before; his wife retained control of his garrisons (so Diod. 19.67.1–2).

[55] Boeotia and Aetolia may have forged a bilateral agreement before approaching Monophthalmus. So Billows 1990, 122.

installed in Thebes (mentioned at Diod. 19.78.5) was designed to protect the newly restored settlement from its hostile neighbours.) Cassander had attempted to placate the Boeotians in 316 by seeking their assent in the rebuilding (Diod. 19.54.1),[56] but such overtures to popular sentiment ultimately proved insufficient. From his base in Tyre at the start of the Third Diadochan War, Antigonus had cleverly courted the disenchanted Boeotians by focusing upon the resurrection of Thebes in his list of Cassander's alleged transgressions, and had called overtly for its destruction.[57] Boeotia's resulting transfer of its sympathies from Cassander to Antigonus is thus unsurprising. Incidental references in Diodorus show that the cities of Euboea, too, were turning against Cassander. In 317, Cassander had been able (apparently without difficulty) to secure Euboean transport ships, and he had garrisoned only Chalcis; by late 313, however, Oreus was evidently opposed to Cassander, and in Chalcis the factions hostile to him were threatening to gain ascendancy (Diod. 19.77.4). The signs in central Greece were ominous for Cassander, and further disaster at this time was staved off only by the swift action of Cassander's brother, Philip, who blocked a move by Epirus to unite with the hostile Aetolia (Diod. 19.74.3–6).

Athens was becoming, by mid-313, an isolated bastion of Cassander's hegemony on the mainland, screened only by Corinth and Sicyon from an increasingly hostile Peloponnese to the south, and to the north menaced by a united Aetolia and Boeotia; Thebes alone stood similarly firm in its alliance to Cassander. The threat to the regime in Athens became even more acute when Cassander entered into talks with Antigonus at the Hellespont in mid-313. No source gives a full and clear account of the substance of the talks, but the indications are that Cassander was willing to discuss the limitation of his interests in Greece. We have the text of a letter sent to the Greek states by Antigonus some two years later, in which he makes reference to the Hellespontine talks; the text implies that the 313 negotiations came close to achieving an agreement on the liberty of the Greeks.[58] The letter itself is clearly propagandistic in intent, its tenor shaped by

---

[56] Such was their antipathy to Thebes that the Boeotians are said to have sided with Macedon in the Lamian War precisely because they feared that the Athenians, if victorious, would restore Thebes (Diod. 18.11.4).

[57] Diod. 19.61.2–3.

[58] *OGIS* 5 ll.5–9 Antigonus claims "we exerted our efforts for the liberty of the Greeks…As long as there was agreement on this the meeting at the Hellespont was participated in by us."

Antigonid rhetoric, but Diodorus confirms that a surrender of Greece was under discussion with his claim (at 19.75.6) that Cassander, once negotiations collapsed, "gave up hope of a settlement and *decided to play a part once more* in the affairs of Greece" (*apognous tas dialuseis diegnô tôn kata tên Hellada palin pragmatôn antekhesthai*).

The lack of testimonia for Athens here is particularly frustrating, the immediate impact on the city itself of these abortive negotiations being undocumented. It is likely, though, that anti-Cassandran factions in the city would have been working to take advantage of Cassander's tenuous position right throughout 313. Antigonid incursions in central Greece later in 313 certainly threatened to upset Demetrius' government, as we shall see, and at 19.78.4 (= Demetr. 22 SOD) Diodorus alludes to a programme of covert communication between disaffected Athenians and Antigonus that must belong to 313:[59]

> At first the Athenians secretly sent messages to Antigonus, asking him to liberate the city…

Athenian overtures to Aetolia, the existence of which is indicated by a pseudo-Dinarchus speech for Athenian exiles seeking aid from Aetolia (above, 251), may also belong in this context, particularly when one takes into account the backdrop of current alliances between Antigonus, Boeotia and Aetolia.

The collapse of the peace-talks of 313 would have done little to ease the pressure on Demetrius, as the balance of power in Greece continued to swing wildly between Cassander and Antigonus. Cassander entered into Greek affairs with renewed vigour. A key concern now was to secure an alternative communication route between Macedon and his more southerly holdings, to circumvent the threat posed by a united Aetolia and Boeotia. As a result, Cassander moved immediately to regain his ascendancy in Euboea, an island that he had used in the past to bypass an Aetolian blockade at Thermopylae (Diod. 19.35.2).[60] This was not the sole reason for targeting Euboea. The allegiance of Boeotia had given Antigonus vital access to ports in central Greece, access to which he soon availed himself: an Antigonid army landed in a Boeotian port shortly after the resumption of hostilities with

[59] The immediate context is the approach of Antigonus' general, Polemaeus, towards Attica (on which, see below).

[60] For Euboea's shifting alliances under the Diadochs, and its shift away from Cassander at this time, see Geyer 1941.

Cassander in 313 (Diod. 19.77.4). A foot-hold in Euboea might have permitted interference with such Antigonid fleet movements.

Spurred by these strategic considerations, Cassander instituted a siege against the Euboean city, Oreus, and almost succeeded in his mission. He was about to take Oreus, when Antigonid forces led by the general Telesphorus (who diverted his forces from the Peloponnese), and also a naval contingent under Medius (sent out from Asia) hastened to its support (Diod. 19.75.7–8).[61] With his fleet of thirty ships almost destroyed by the one hundred and twenty furnished by Telesphorus and Medius, Cassander sought help from his Greek allies. Athens again entered the fray, once more sending out its fleet under Thymochares.[62] This naval enterprise at least confirms for us the continued ascendancy of Cassander's interests—and, by implication, of Demetrius of Phalerum—within the city at this point.

With the Athenian reinforcements, and with the advantage of a surprise attack, Cassander was able to redress some of his losses at Oreus, sinking one enemy ship and capturing three others; he was hence able to continue the siege. The Athenian intervention was, however, fruitful only in the short term, and the siege was not carried through to a successful end. In the wake of his alliance with Boeotia, Antigonus had dispatched yet another force to Greece under his general Polemaeus (again, the brief was to see to the liberation of the Greeks: so Diod. 19.77.2), and while Cassander was ensconced at Oreus, this force put in at a Boeotian harbour and at once initiated overtures to Chalcis, the main Euboean city (Diod. 19.77.4–5). Polemaeus' build up of forces near Chalcis lured Cassander away from Oreus, thereby opening an opportunity for Antigonus, who immediately prepared to cross the Hellespont—a move designed to force Cassander to forfeit

[61] Diodorus narrates the clash at Oreus through to its conclusion, and then turns his attention to Antigonus' manoeuvres after the collapse of the Hellespontine peace talks. This has the unfortunate, but not unparalleled, consequence that some of the material is out of strict temporal sequence: Medius' arrival at Oreus from Asia is mentioned before his actual commissioning by Antigonus (19.77.2). Medius must, however, have set out from Asia with Polemaeus, reached Greece well before his colleague (who was presumably travelling by land), helped Telesphorus at Oreus, then (Diod. 19.77.4) reunited with Polemaeus when the latter finally reached Boeotia. There is no need to assume, with Billows 1990, 122–23 that Medius made two trips from Asia to Greece, one of them *before* his joint expedition with Polemaeus.

[62] Thus Diod. 19.75.8, mentioning only Athenians; *IG* ii^2 682 ll.16–18, naming Thymochares at the head of the Athenian fleet and also attesting to the presence of other, unspecified *summakhoi*.

his supremacy either in Greece or Macedonia. Leaving his brother, Pleistarchus, in charge at Chalcis, and designating one Eupolemus as general of Greece, Cassander neutralised Boeotia by capturing Oropus and securing Thebes, and hastily repaired to Macedon (Diod. 19.77.6). His swift retreat, the onset of winter (313/12) and the policy of neutrality assumed by Byzantium at the Hellespont, eventually deterred Antigonus from attempting his planned invasion of Macedon (Diod. 19.77.5–7). Macedonia was thus secure for the time being, but Cassander's retreat left his southern holdings exposed to the superior enemy forces.

The threat to Demetrius of Phalerum's grip on power was serious, and the situation became critical when Antigonus' general, Polemaeus, given free rein in Euboea by Cassander's removal to Macedon, overran that island and then (probably in late 313/early 312)[63] advanced against Attica with a substantial army of five thousand foot and five hundred cavalry.[64] When Polemaeus approached Athens itself, the pressure on Demetrius became so intense that he was compelled by the Athenians to make a truce with Polemaeus (who immediately withdrew into Boeotia) and to send envoys to Antigonus to negotiate about an alliance. So Diodorus (19.78.3–4 = Demetr. 22 SOD):

> ...when Polemaeus appeared quite close to the city, [the Athenians] took courage, and forced Demetrius to conclude a truce and send off deputations to Antigonus about an alliance.

This account is surely abbreviated and the incident, as reported, does have some surprising features. For example it is clear, from the contin-

---

[63] Diod. 19.77.1 locates Polemaeus' arrival in Greece, and subsequent incursion into Attica, under the heading of the archon for 312/11. But his mission properly belongs in the immediate aftermath of the breakdown of the Hellespontine peace talks; Antigonus would have wished to press the advantage offered by his recent alliances with Aetolia and, in particular, with Boeotia. The fact that Polemaeus probably continued campaigning in Greece through the winter and into the campaign season of 312 may have encouraged Diodorus to describe his mission under the archon-heading of 312/11. Diodorus' introduction of the campaign under this archon need not lead us, with Smith 1961, 289 n. 20, Billows 1990, 123 and Hauben 1973, 260 n. 19, to believe that Antigonus delayed until 312 before commissioning Polemaeus.

[64] Polemaeus consolidated his position in Euboea through alliances with Eretria and Carystus: Diod. 19.78.3. On the strength of his army see Diod. 19.77.2. While campaigning on Euboea, Polemaeus' forces were augmented by two thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse from Boeotia (Diod. 19.77.2–4). Some of these auxiliary forces may have accompanied him into Attica, although they may have returned to Boeotia when Cassander crossed from Euboea earlier in the season.

ued presence at Munychia of Dionysius, the commander of Cassander's garrison,[65] that Polemaeus quit Attica without removing the garrison from Munychia, even though he had expelled all such garrisons from other targeted cities. Curious too is the clear claim that Demetrius of Phalerum was prepared to treat with the enemy. But on close consideration of the positions of both Polemaeus and of Demetrius, these curiosities are not such as to warrant rejection of Diodorus' story as misleading or faulty.[66] Polemaeus could well have quit Attica without engaging Dionysius' troops. His capacity to oust the Munychia garrison had been undermined by the depletion of his naval resources: of the two fleets (under Telesphorus and Medius) campaigning with him on Euboea, the more substantial navy of Medius had been recalled to Asia by Antigonus (Diod. 19.77.5), perhaps leaving Polemaeus with only Telesphorus' modest twenty ships. Poliorcetes made relatively short work of the garrison in 307, but only after he had taken the Piraeus by surprise (Diod. 20.45.1–3; Plut. *Demetr.* 8.4–7); Polemaeus was faced with the task of ousting the garrison with a small fleet while his enemy retained the Piraeus harbour. Moreover, if Polemaeus' army had entered Attica in late 313 or early 312, he may have had difficulties provisioning his forces through a winter siege;[67] the enemy controlled the harbour, and as the harvest would have been long since collected, there was no prospect of gathering supplies from Attica itself.

Such factors suggest that Polemaeus' invasion was undertaken largely in response to the overtures from within Athens; Diodorus implies as much, since he prefaces Polemaeus' invasion with a report of Athenian communications with Antigonus: so Diodorus 19.78.4 (= Demetr. 22 SOD):

> At first, the Athenians secretly sent messages to Antigonus, asking him to liberate the city.

Polemaeus may have pressed the invasion, despite the unfavourable circumstances, on the promise of being admitted into the city by factions hostile to Cassander.[68] This in itself reveals much about

[65] Attested in Athens in late 314 (Diod. 19.68.3 = Demetr. 21 SOD), Dionysius was still there in 307 (Diod. 20.45.7, *Suda s.vv. Dêmêtrios ho Antigonou*).

[66] As sometimes maintained, notably by Simpson 1955.

[67] Compare Polyperchon's problem sustaining his army in Attica: Diod. 18.68.3.

[68] It was on the basis of a similar hope that Polemaeus instituted a siege of Chalcis: see Diod. 19.77.4.

Demetrius' Athens. The most immediate threat to his regime lay not with the Antigonid army, which would have been forced into a protracted and difficult siege through winter, but with the prospect of the Athenians themselves opening the city to the liberators. Diodorus 19.78.4 in fact confirms this, noting that it was *the Athenians* who compelled Demetrius to come to terms. Demetrius' pressing concern was to prevent his citizens from admitting Polemaeus; this he accomplished by agreeing to the dispatch of envoys to Antigonus, thereby yielding sufficiently to public demands. Such a manoeuvre secured the removal of the enemy forces and, importantly, bought time for the regime. As Demosthenes' exposé of the second Athenian embassy to Philip in 346 reveals (Dem. 19.155), embassies could be tardy in accomplishing their missions when it suited them, and it is noteworthy that Demetrius' undertaking in 313/12 was to negotiate with Antigonus himself, rather than to accept a provisional treaty with Polemaeus as other Greek cities, notably Carystus and Eretria, had done (so Diod. 19.78.3): the stipulation may well have been a delaying tactic.[69]

Demetrius' decision to treat with Polemaeus, while the garrison remained untroubled at Munychia, sheds an interesting light on the relationship between the two instruments of Cassander's hegemony: city regime on the one hand, and Piraeus force on the other. Unlike its predecessor under Antipater, Cassander's garrison had *not* been charged with the maintenance of the regime within Athens: while the stated purpose of Antipater's garrison had been "to prevent anyone from undertaking changes in the government" (Diod. 18.18.5), Cassander's force was (nominally) to remain only "until the war against the kings should be concluded" (Diod. 18.74.3). This difference suggests that the concern of Cassander's force was more narrowly with the retention of the Piraeus; as a result, the fates of the Piraeus garrison and the city were not inextricably entwined. Recent history had shown such a distinction between citadel and port to be possible, with the division of Piraeus and city under the control of competing interests in 318 (when Nicanor held the Piraeus despite the liberation of Athens by Polyperchon and Alexander) and the pattern was to be repeated in the third century.[70] From a strategic viewpoint, control of the harbour

[69] As a delaying tactic, see also De Sanctis 1893, 19.

[70] Tracy 1995, 46 similarly distinguishes the garrison and the city regime as two distinct authorities, one created for the internal governance of Athens, the other a purely military presence to control naval movements. For the division of Piraeus and city in the third century, and its economic implications, see Oliver 2007, 48ff.

was the key issue for Cassander; there is no indication that the garrison was obliged to defend Demetrius' regime in 313/12, or even to prevent an accommodation with Antigonus. Indeed, Demetrius' truce was advantageous to the Cassandran garrison, since it left that force *in situ*.

As it transpired, Demetrius' gamble paid off, and his diplomatic manoeuvres proved sufficient for his regime's survival. Polemaeus was soon distracted from his campaign of liberation by the defection of Telesphorus from Antigonus' cause. The latter, angered by Antigonus' perceived preferment of Polemaeus, had returned to the Peloponnese and begun to detach cities from their Antigonid allegiances: Elis he fortified, enslaving the population, and the treasures of Olympia were plundered to finance his independent ambitions. These developments inevitably drew Polemaeus south of the Isthmus, thereby relieving the pressure on Demetrius in Athens. There is also a slim possibility that Demetrius received material backing from Cassander's officers after the short-lived Attic invasion. The evidence comes from an Athenian curse tablet (*SEG* 30.325. no. 2 = Demetr. 46 SOD) bearing the names of Demetrius, Cassander, and two of Cassander's generals, Pleistarchus and Eupolemus.[71] If, as has been argued,[72] such curse tablets were most efficacious when their targets were within close proximity of the site at which the tablet was deposited, then the tablet in question might indicate that Cassander, Demetrius, Eupolemus and Pleistarchus were all in the vicinity of Athens when the curse was inscribed. The tablet is sometimes assigned to the 'Four Years' War' (307–303), a conflict in which Cassander attempted to regain Athens and restore Demetrius of Phalerum after Demetrius Poliorcetes had seized the city,[73] but it may equally belong to 312. Eupolemus and Pleistarchus are known to have been in central Greece at this time (Diod. 19.77.6); the location of Cassander is unclear (he was campaigning in Epirus at some time in 312, but Diodorus does not provide a detailed account of his movements throughout the year). The curse tablet may imply that

[71] The tablet contains a further name that has evaded restoration, although the misspelled demotic PEIRIEA has been identified.

[72] So Jordan 1980.

[73] As, for example, by Habicht 1985, 77–82, Billows 1989, 177–79, and Tracy 1995, 43. Other dates have been suggested, for example by Jordan 1980, 235–36 & 1985, 157 (opting for 312 – 307). Braun 1970, 197–98 in arguing for 313 in his original publication of the tablet, is essentially in agreement with the suggestions advanced above.

Cassander and his generals were in the environs of Attica in 312, and their presence may have been designed to quash any further resistance against Demetrius of Phalerum's regime within Athens.[74]

In the following year, the stability of Athens was bolstered by events in a distant theatre of war. A major defeat suffered by Poliorcetes at the hands of Ptolemy and Seleucus at Gaza in Syria triggered a reversal in the fortunes of the Antigonids, a reversal that culminated in 311 with the conclusion of a peace between Antigonus and his opponents. The new treaty recognised Cassander as general in Greece, although his command was to be exercised only until Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great, came of age; the provision proved a virtual death warrant for the young king, who was murdered almost immediately on Cassander's instigation.

As Diodorus observes, the conclusion of a peace did not spell a lasting end to hostilities between the Diadochoi. Much of the renewed unrest arose from disputes between individuals in the Peloponnese. Having quelled Telesphorus' defection only two years earlier, Polemaeus himself rebelled from the Antigonid cause and transferred his allegiance to Cassander (and soon after to Ptolemy, by whom he was slain). Another move in the Peloponnese came from the long quiet Polyperchon, who made a final attempt to oust Cassander from Macedon by advocating the cause of the sole surviving son of Alexander the Great, the little-recognised Heracles who, as the son of a Persian noblewoman, had been reared in Pergamum. Polyperchon summoned him to Greece and enlisted the support of the Aetolian League, which was steadfast in its hostility to Cassander. The mustered forces drew up against each other in Epirus, but never came to blows: with Machiavellian cunning, Cassander persuaded Polyperchon himself to slay the young contender for the throne, bribing him with a promise of a generalship in the Peloponnese (Diod. 20.28.1–2).

Athens remained far removed from these developments, but the machinations of Cassander's ally, Ptolemy, may have had a more direct impact. The terms of the 311 peace had included the stipulation that the Greeks be autonomous (Diod. 19.105.1). This had not prompted any immediate call for the lifting of Cassander's control in cities such

[74] This near ousting of Demetrius' regime in 312 may possibly have prompted the elevation of a sympathiser (Polemon) as archon in 312/11, although Polemon's identity and political affiliation are far from secure: see above, 132ff.

as Athens; rather, the first targets of this promised autonomy were to be Antigonus' Greek holdings in the Aegean and in Asia Minor. It was Ptolemy who seized upon this precept of Greek autonomy espoused in 311 as a pretext to undermine Antigonus. Having sent an army against Antigonus' cities of Cilicia, Ptolemy requested assistance from Cassander's Greek cities to curb further Antigonus' power in 310/9 (Diod. 20.19.4). Athens may have been among those whose help was sought, but Diodorus' account of Ptolemy's subsequent campaigning along the Asia Minor coast in 309 (Diod. 20.27.1–3, 37.1) makes no mention of any auxiliaries from the Greek mainland cities.

The years immediately following the 311 peace may even have allowed Demetrius to consolidate his position in the city. In 309/8, he acted as eponymous archon, a move perhaps encouraged by the fact that the Great Dionysia and the Great Panathenaea were due for celebration in that year: the only aspect of his year in office known to have excited comment from his political enemies are some spectacular, if rather exotic, festival celebrations undertaken under his aegis.[75] For Demochares, who recorded these excesses for posterity, such novelties served merely to underscore the Athenians' subservience to their Macedonian overlord. Could Cassander himself have visited Athens for any of these extravagant festivities? It is tempting to speculate that he may have done so. He was certainly well aware of the propagandistic value of attending such gatherings,[76] and these spectacular Athenian celebrations of 309/8 would have been an ideal opportunity to advertise his hegemony widely among a Greek audience.

That hegemony, and the autonomy for mainland Greeks with which it was intimately bound, were soon to become an issue once more. In 308, the amicable relations between Ptolemy and Cassander were broken, and Ptolemy directed his programme of Greek liberation away from the Antigonid cities of Asia Minor, focusing instead on Cassander's cities of the Greek mainland (Diod. 20.37.2–3; see also the rather jumbled account in the *Suda* entry *s.vv. Dêmêtrios ho Antigonou*).[77] It is probable that the break was occasioned by a

[75] For his archonship, see Demetr. 23A–E SOD, and above, 131–32. For comment on Demetrius' conduct as archon in the festivals, compare Demetr. 43A & 89 SOD.

[76] Cassander was in central Greece for part of 309 (Diod. 20.28.3–4), and he was apparently aware of the potential propaganda value of attending festivals, presiding over the Nemean games in 315 (Diod. 19.64.1).

[77] On the *Suda* entry, see Seibert 1969, 180–83. The *Suda*'s information in this entry is of variable historicity: some is deemed erroneous (as, for example, its claim that

desire on Ptolemy's part to usurp Cassander's Macedonian dominion. In 309/8, Ptolemy was entertaining the prospect of a marriage with Alexander the Great's sister, Cleopatra, a marital alliance that might have enabled him to assume the throne of Macedon itself (Diod. 20.37.3). The promised royal alliance seems to have encouraged him to emulate the Greek policies of Philip II and Alexander the Great, and to re-establish Philip's League of Corinth.[78] To this end, after crossing to the Isthmus and taking the strategic strongholds of Sicyon and Corinth (and Megara, if Diog. Laert. 2.115 is to be believed), he convened a meeting of representatives of the Greek cities at the Isthmian Games (May, 308: so *Suda s.vv. Dêmêtrios ho Antigonou*).

Athens itself was not directly targeted: both Diodorus and the *Suda* name the Peloponnese as the focus of Ptolemy's efforts, and only Sicyon, Corinth and Megara are singled out for mention. We have no evidence from which to gauge the Athenian reaction to this southern invasion; the threat to Cassander proved short-lived, and appears not to have escalated sufficiently to weaken Athens itself. (When the support pledged by the Greeks was not forthcoming, Ptolemy was compelled to come to terms with Cassander and withdraw from Greece.)

It is possible, however, that events in Athens just prior to Ptolemy's crossing to Greece may have indirectly encouraged Ptolemy in his hopes of a Greek conquest. In late 309 or early 308, Athens had received an embassy from Ophellas, a former friend of Alexander the Great who had, under the auspices of Ptolemy, taken control of Cyrene in 322.[79] In 309, Ophellas had been approached by the tyrant of Syracuse, Agathocles, who was hoping for Cyrenian assistance in a long-running conflict with Carthage. Seeking control of any conquered Carthaginian lands in Africa, Ophellas had agreed to Agathocles' proposed joint

---

Ptolemy's undertaking in Greece was encouraged by a pact he had concluded with Poliorcetes: the existence of any such rapprochement is unlikely: compare Billows 1990, 145 n. 18), but other aspects—such as the outline of Ptolemy's movements in Greece—are compatible with Diodorus' outline of his campaign at 20.37. There is no reason to doubt the *Suda*'s coupling of Ptolemy's meeting with the Isthmian games, mentioned above.

[78] So Seibert 1969, 187ff.

[79] On Ophellas' earlier career, see Arr. *Ind.* 18.3 for a trierarchy at the Hydaspes (compare Diod. 20.40.1, labelling him a *philos* of Alexander); Arr. *FGrHist.* 156 F9.17–19 and Diod. 18.21.7–9 record his conquest of Cyrene in 322 (on the date, see Bosworth 1988, 291–92). It is assumed that he was present in Cyrene during the uprising against Ptolemy in 313, although he is not mentioned in Diodorus' account of this event (19.79.1–3).

campaign, and in turn sent an envoy to Athens to negotiate an alliance (Diod. 20.40.5–6).[80] Such an alliance may have eventuated, although this is not explicitly testified;[81] what is recorded is the widespread, and perhaps unofficial, popularity with which Ophellas' requests were received in Athens, a city with which Ophellas was associated by marriage (his wife, Euthydice, was descended from the Miltiades of Marathon fame)[82] and upon which Ophellas had lavished benefactions in the past. Diodorus tells us that "a good many of the Athenians eagerly enlisted for the campaign," as did a number of Greeks from other cities, all keen to leave the "unstable and straitened" conditions of the war-torn mainland for the promise of plenty in northern Africa (20.40.6–7). Ophellas' recruitment thus demonstrated to Ptolemy the

[80] Some justification is needed for the dates given above in the text. Diodorus lists under the archon year 308/7 the entire episode of Ophellas' Carthaginian venture (including his pact with Agathocles, his troop levying in Greece, his rendezvous with Agathocles in Carthage and eventual assassination), while a fragment of the Marmor Parium reports some activity of Ophellas in connection with Carthage (*Ophellas eis Karkhêdonia*) under the preceding archon year (309/8). The discrepancy may be superficial, since Ophellas' involvement with Agathocles simply cannot be accommodated entirely within a single year. Agathocles had invaded Carthage initially in August 310 (so Diod. 20.3.1, Mamor Parium *FGrHist.* 239 B18, with the record of an eclipse upon his departure from Syracuse—see Diod. 20.5.5 and Justin 22.6.2—confirming the year as 310). The entire campaign season of 309 must be allowed for all the manoeuvres that Agathocles undertook alone in Carthage (detailed at Diod. 20.3–18, 20.34.1–7, 20.38.1–6); the report in this narrative of the death of the Carthaginian general, Hamilcar, which Diodorus correlates with the death of Heracles in Greece and the foundation of Lysimachea (20.30.2, 20.29.1–2) confirms the date as 309. The arrival in Carthage of Ophellas' troops cannot have occurred before the start of the campaign season of 308, and it is probably to this season that the bulk of Ophellas' activities in Carthage itself should belong; Ophellas probably died that year, in November (cf. Diod. 20.69.3), giving his wife Euthydice time to return to Athens where she married Poliorcetes in 307/6 (Plut. *Demetr.* 14.1). It is also quite possible that Agathocles' initial negotiations with Ophellas had occurred somewhat earlier, under the archon of 309/8. Diodorus has, for the sake of narrative unity, recorded under one archon year (308/7) a sequence of events that stretched back into the preceding archon year; the Marmor Parium, by contrast, may have been recording the establishment of the alliance between Agathocles and Ophellas for the purpose of war on Carthage, an event which probably occurred in 309/8. On this basis, Ophellas' envoy may have approached Athens at the beginning of 308, or indeed over winter 309/8, since adequate time must be allowed for the recruitment of volunteers in Greece.

[81] Obviously, much of the support for Ophellas may have been at an individual, rather than state, level. But whether or not Athens formerly concluded an alliance for war against Carthage, the scale of Ophellas' recruitment suggests that his campaign was not actively opposed by Demetrius of Phalerum.

[82] The marriage celebration between Ophellas and Euthydice received attention from the comic poet, Apollodorus (F29 KA).

level of dissatisfaction in the Greek cities, perhaps encouraging the latter's hopes of a positive reception there.[83]

Ophellas' mission, the last documented engagement in which Athenians participated during the Phalerean period, ended as disastrously as any of the expeditions of the Third Diadochan War. The combined Cyrenean and Greek forces made their way across the difficult terrain of Libya to join Agathocles, who was encamped before Carthage. Immediately after their arrival, Agathocles accused Ophellas of plotting against the Sicilians, and disposed of him (Diod. 20.41–42). Some of his forces were absorbed into Agathocles' army; others, including a number of Athenians, may have found their way back to Greece, and eye-witness reports of African botany detailed by Theophrastus have been attributed to these returned colonists.[84]

The regime in Athens did not survive much longer. In early 307 Antigonus, mirroring Ptolemy's incursion in 308, launched his own campaign of Greek liberation. To this end, he sent his son, Poliorcetes, to the mainland, and this time Athens, not the Peloponnese, was the prime target (Diod. 20.45.1–5 = Demetr. 30 SOD). Notably, Poliorcetes

---

[83] The interpretation offered here of Ophellas' appeal to Athens and Ptolemy's subsequent mission is markedly different from that advocated by Will 1964, who believes that Ptolemy's incursion into Greece may have been a reaction against Ophellas, an interpretation predicated on the understanding that Ophellas had usurped control of Cyrene, and that his Carthaginian plans were independent of (and inimical to) Ptolemy. But evidence of any such rift between Ophellas and Ptolemy is lacking in the literary sources (as Ehrenberg 1938, 146 and Laronde 1971 have already argued; Chamoux 1956, 20–21 is also doubtful), and Ophellas' coinage is similarly inconclusive, with the rare bronze coin minted independently by Ophellas belonging probably to an earlier Cyrenean rebellion of 313 (so Mørkholm 1980, 150 cf. Mørkholm *et al.* 1991 plate 114). That Ophellas, once labelled a general of Ptolemy, harboured independent ambitions is indeed implied by the later descriptions of him as a king or dynast (Justin 22.7.4, Orosius *Adv. Pag.* 4.6.229, *Suda s.vv. Dêmêtrios ho Antigonou*), but this change of designation need not entail a break with Ptolemy. There is, in fact, no need for recourse to a feud with Ophellas to explain Ptolemy's incursion into Greece in 308, given his interest in marrying Cleopatra at this time (above, 274). Nor need Athens' willingness to entertain an alliance with Ophellas be closely associated with the hostilities that broke out between Cassander and Ptolemy in 308. If Ophellas' envoys approached Athens over the winter of 309/8, their arrival may well have pre-dated the rift between Ptolemy and Cassander. Athens would have been free to support the undertakings of a petty dynast associated with Cassander's then ally, Ptolemy, just as Ptolemy himself had been able to apply to cities controlled by Cassander for his own ventures (so Diod. 20.19.4).

[84] Diod. 20.42.5, 44.7 for the fate of Ophellas' retinue; also Justin 22.7.3ff (whose account is echoed by Orosius, *Adv. Pag.* 4.6.29–30). See Theoph. *Hist. plant.* 4.3.2 for African botany.

was instructed to abolish the garrison at Munychia, not simply transfer it to Antigonus' control: Athens, so Antigonus is reported to have claimed (Plut. *Demetr.* 8.1), was a "watch-tower" from which a demonstration of his good faith could be broadcast throughout a watching Greek world. Poliorcetes' mission was made easier by a case of mistaken identity: when they arrived in the waters off the Piraeus in June 307, his ships were taken for a Ptolemaic fleet and the Athenian generals, ready to accommodate the needs of an ally of Cassander, opened the Piraeus boom (Polyaenus 4.7.6 = Demetr. 28 SOD describes the ruse in detail).[85] Their error was discovered too late, after Poliorcetes had sailed into the harbour. From his ships, he announced to the gathered Athenians, assembled in readiness for battle, his desire to liberate the city, expel the garrison and return the city to its ancestral (i.e. democratic) constitution. The Athenians welcomed Poliorcetes' declaration, and Demetrius of Phalerum was once more compelled to treat with the Antigonid camp.

Demetrius' readiness to treat with his enemies again raises the question of his own relationship with Cassander. While responsible to that Macedonian for his status from 317, and while the liberation of Athens from Cassandran control in 307 did entail his ousting, Demetrius was not, it seems, inevitably linked to Cassander. His negotiations in 312 with Antigonus' general, Polemaeus, which led to an undertaking to seek an alliance with Monophthalmus, reveal this distinction. While Demetrius no doubt hoped that his delaying tactics would allow Cassander to reassert his hegemony in central Greece, it is possible that he was willing to consider a pragmatic accommodation with Antigonus in order to continue his rule in Athens. After all, Phocion had nearly succeeded in transferring his allegiance to Polyperchon in 318 (see above, 36–37), and earlier still the Athenian orator, Demades, had attempted to play off two power-brokers, encouraging the aspirations of Antigonus while still supported in power by Antipater.[86] Changes of masters were not unthinkable, and Demetrius may likewise have hoped to retain his authority in the city, whether under the aegis of Cassander or of Antigonus.

---

[85] See too Plut. *Demetr.* 8.5 = Demetr. 29 SOD.

[86] Plut. *Phoc.* 30.5–6 gives the anecdote about Demades, and locates the story during Antipater's rule of Athens.

As it turned out, diplomacy could not this time avert the fall of the Phalerean regime. Intent on honouring his pledge to liberate the city, Poliorcetes stormed the Piraeus, and with this incursion came the prompt end of Demetrius' decade in power. Demetrius of Phalerum himself was granted safe conduct from the city to Thebes (so Plut. *Demetr.* 8.2–3 = Demetr. 29 SOD; Diod. 20.45.4 = Demetr. 30 SOD). The whole episode brings to light once more the separation of power that had existed in Athens through the preceding decade, the division between the military force at Munychia and the political regime of Demetrius. For while the city administration had crumbled almost immediately upon the arrival of Poliorcetes, the fortress at Munychia did not succumb so easily, in fact holding out for another two months. Poliorcetes diverted his attention to Megara, which he liberated from Ptolemy's grasp, before returning to Athens and successfully storming and razing the garrison in August 307. His achievement, celebrated by the Athenians with honours on an unprecedented scale, signalled the decisive end of Cassander's hegemony in Athens. Demetrius might linger in Thebes, hoping earnestly for the opportunity to regain Athens, but such an opportunity was never to come.

6.2 *Athenian foreign policy under Demetrius of Phalerum*

The preceding narrative on the affairs of Athens under the hegemony of Cassander is replete with evidence of the impact on the Greek mainland of the Diadochan struggles. Athens, and to an even greater extent the Peloponnesian cities, fell prey to the tussles between Alexander's successors with their campaigns conducted ostensibly under the banner of Greek liberation. The campaigns of Antigonus' generals during the Third Diadochan War, the invasion of Ptolemy in 308, and finally the incursion of Poliorcetes in 307: all of these put pressure on the regime installed in Athens by Cassander.

Also apparent is the guiding influence of Cassander's strategic requirements on the mobilisations of Athenian forces during this period. In 317, Cassander had permitted Athens to retain her navy, and his *symmakhia* gave him access to this fleet, just as Athens' participation in the League of Corinth had made her resources available to Philip II of Macedon and to Alexander the Great. It is clear that Cassander did indeed avail himself of these resources. The fleet dep-

loyments at Cythnos, Lemnos, Samos and at Oreus all were designed to advance the cause of Cassander against his Antigonid opponents.[87]

Demetrius' adherence to Cassander's policy has, however, tended to obscure the fact that Athens' undertakings form a coherent policy that can be justified within local Athenian aims. That is, Athenian campaigns in this period are not to be explained purely in terms of the hegemon's strategic ambitions, but rather are readily reconcilable with traditional domestic interests. Indeed, there may be a danger (one fuelled by Athens' clear former supremacy in naval affairs) of overrating Cassander's reliance on Athenian ships. Indications are that he cultivated a native Macedonian navy, hence his creation of ports at Cassandreia and Thessalonice; the fact that Poliorcetes saw fit to provide Athens with large quantities of timber for ship building in 307/6 suggests further that the Athenian fleet had not been actively maintained under Cassander.[88] If the Athenian fleet was not central to Cassander's naval policy, the occasions of its mobilisation may have been carefully selected. A close survey of the attested military activity in the Phalerean period may show that it was an interplay of forces, an overlapping of domestic benefit with the dictates of Cassandran policy, which shaped the foreign affairs of Athens in this period.

Athens' participation in the rebuilding of Thebes is a case in point. While the venture certainly served Cassander's strategic interests, it was also in keeping with Athens' own aims. It may be recalled that, in the Lamian War, Athens was believed to have desired the restoration of Thebes (Diod. 18.11.4). Thebes and Athens shared a bloody history of opposition to Macedonian domination: both had risen to throw off the Macedonian yoke when King Philip was murdered, and again when it was reported (erroneously, as it turned out) that the young King Alexander had been killed. Razed by Alexander for its bellicosity, Thebes was thus a city closely allied with Athens in the fight against Macedon, a city moreover whose exiles Athens had sheltered after its destruction despite orders from the League of Corinth *synhedrion* that Thebans be denied refuge throughout the League member states.

[87] The involvement with Ophellas at Carthage is more problematic in terms of its relationship to Cassander's objectives in 308. See esp. above, 276 with n. 83.

[88] For Poliorcetes, Diod. 20.46.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.1. Hauben 1978, 52–53 amasses evidence for Cassander's creation of a native fleet.

The revival of Thebes represented the fulfilment of a long-standing Athenian ambition, and this is reflected in the celebration with which it met in Athens, where the citizens donned garlands ([Plut.] *Mor.* 814b), a customary token of civic celebration. The gesture may have been orchestrated by Demetrius, as some have maintained,[89] but it is entirely plausible that the rebuilding enjoyed widespread popularity throughout Athenian society, and indeed Pausanias (9.7.1) describes the Athenians as being "most zealous for the settlement of Thebes." The official recognition of Thebes' renascence suggests that the support lent by Athens was viewed within that city not as the strengthening of Cassander's strategic position (for a skilled diplomat such as Demetrius could hardly have encouraged festivities on that basis), but primarily as the fruition of Athenian desires. Cassander's rebuilding, determined by his own needs, thus presented Demetrius with an opportunity to enhance the popularity of his regime within Athens.

The existence of native Athenian concerns is even more marked in her involvement in the Third Diadochan War. It must be remembered that Athens, although subject to the hegemony of Cassander from 317, was still itself an independent power in the Aegean, with influence on Delos, Samos, Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros and with continued aspirations for Samos. Athenian activity throughout 315–311 was often undertaken in her capacity as the head of this remaining naval empire, and not as a powerless pawn of wider Macedonian conflicts. Antigonus' launch, in 315, of a naval offensive constituted a direct threat to Athens' long-standing primacy in the Aegean; indeed much of the Antigonid initiative seems to have been targeted at islands associated with Athens, and as detailed above, his promise of protection detached Delos, Lemnos and Imbros from their Athenian allegiances. The implications of Antigonus' policy were not confined to material losses. Pushing into the Aegean, Antigonus claimed to be exercising a guardianship of the seas: his admiral, Dioscorides, was to "make a circuit of the sea, guaranteeing the safety of the allies" (Diod. 19.62.9). This rhetoric directly challenged an authority Athens traditionally claimed for herself, an authority that had important implications for her foreign policy. Throughout the fourth century, Athenian influence in the Aegean had been justified in part by a claim to be acting as guardian of the sea: it was probably on this basis that Athens continued

[89] Errington 1990, 138.

to maintain her 'second confederacy' and to levy from her confederates financial contributions even after the humbling of the Spartans, against whose power the confederacy had initially been assembled.[90] A direct link between guardianship of the seas and island hegemony is drawn by the speaker of [Demosthenes] 7: he rejects a proposal from Philip of Macedon that the Athenians should join him in a campaign against pirates on the grounds that this would be tantamount to Athens declaring herself unable to protect her own interests, and would furthermore establish Philip as a naval power who could wrest the islands from their Athenian allegiances.[91] Antigonus' dispatch of fleets constituted a similar threat to Athens' hegemony over her Aegean islands, and a challenge also to Athens' justification for that hegemony.

Athenian naval activity during the Third Diadochan War can be read as a response to these Antigonid threats. This is clearly the case in the attempt to retake Lemnos by the Athenian fleet under Aristotle in 314, and (possible) subsequent move against Samos, both of which could clearly be justified within Athens as ventures to regain former territories. This is not to deny the key involvement of Macedonian satraps in the organization of these two campaigns: it was at Cassander's instigation that Lemnos was attacked, and Asander's encouragement that made possible the venture against Samos. The fact that both Cassander and Asander looked to the Athenian fleet to tackle Lemnos and Samos, however, may well have been dictated by Athens' traditional concerns for those islands.

The expedition led by Thymochares against the pirate, Glaucetas, in the waters off Cythnos can also be rationalised in terms of a peculiarly Athenian agenda. The discouragement of piracy had been one of the material manifestations of the 'guardianship of the seas' which Athens claimed for herself, and the mobilisation against pirates such as Glaucetas may well have been an attempt to defend Athens' claim to be the rightful protector of the islands against the rival bid made by Antigonus. It is interesting that the inscription recording Thymochares' mission alludes to just this kind of guardianship, in answer to Antigonus' opposing claim: Thymochares "made safe the sea with his ships" (*IG* ii^2 682 ll.12–13).[92]

---

[90] So Cawkwell 1981, 48.

[91] [Dem.] 7.14–15. Making safe the seas was a benefaction claimed by other imperial powers: compare Augustus *Res Gestae* 25.

[92] For a parallel phrase applied to pirate problems in Attic inscriptions, compare

In addition, Thymochares' mission had distinct economic ramifications for the city. Droysen went so far as to postulate that Athenian merchant ships were among those commandeered by Glaucetas, and subsequently liberated by Thymochares.[93] So specific an impetus is possible, but not necessary. Athenian trade had always been vulnerable to piracy, and as a result pirate activity in general had often provoked a response from Athens. It had been a major concern in the Lycurgan period, when the revenues of the city were flourishing due in no small part to the volume of trade passing through the Piraeus. An Athenian fleet was launched in 335/34 to protect the seas against pirates (*IG* ii^2 1623 ll.276–308); troubled by Etruscan piracy in 325/24, Athens had even founded a new Adriatic colony whose prime objective was to secure the commercial interests of the parent city (*RO* 100). Piracy may have flourished in the turmoil of the Diadochan era, partly as a result of the reduction of the Athenian navy in the Lamian War (pirate depredations may be alluded to in *IG* ii^2 399 which has been thought to document the capture of Athenians by pirates in Crete ca. 320/19);[94] the discouragement of it, and the subsequent encouragement of trade, may have been an on-going objective in the Phalerean period.

The efficient provisioning of the city, an achievement attested through Demochares' snide attack on Demetrius for boasting about the availability and afforability of food during his regime (discussed above, 193–94), may indeed have been a guiding concern of Demetrius' foreign policy.[95] The attempted reclamation of Athens' island possessions may be read in this context, for Lemnos and Imbros in particular had been been important contributors of grain to the Athenian market.[96] The Athenians' willingness to support Ophellas in his joint ven-

---

IG ii^2 1629 ll.216ff.

[93] See Droysen's comments in the publication of *IG* ii^2 682. The phrasing of the inscription does suggest that the ships seized with Glaucetas were merchant ships commandeered by him (on the use of *katagagonta* compare [Dem.] 17.19–20, *IG* ii^2 506 ll.6–7); their identification as Athenian ships must remain speculative.

[94] The decree honours a benefactor for ransoming Athenians. The identity of their captors is obscured by a lacuna. The attempt by Potter 1984 to restore as *enemies* the captors from whom the Athenians were freed (*ek polemôn*) and equate them with Spartan collaborators is resoundingly rejected by Badian 1989, esp. 59–64, who favours a return to the restoration *from pirates* (*ek leistôn*) adopted earlier by Moretti 1967 (in his comments on his *ISE* 1, no. 2).

[95] Note further, in this context, the recent affirmation by Moreno 2007 of Athens' dependence on imported grain in the fifth and fourth centuries.

[96] Oliver 2007, 68–73 cf. 38 table 1.2.

ture with Agathocles against Carthage may also be understood in this light. Diodorus (20.40.7) suggests that conditions throughout Greece in general were difficult at this time because of the continual warfare of the Macedonians, and Athens' position was particularly tenuous. While the Athenian navy had attempted to combat piracy in the early years of the Phalerean regime, the subsequent loss of naval bases throughout the eastern Aegean during 315–314 would have had a detrimental impact on Athens' ability to secure reliable grain imports from the east. The powers of Syracuse and Cyrene with which Athens now aligned herself were important alternative sources of trade. Cyrene had supplied grain to Athens during the shortages of the 320s,[97] and it is possible that Ophellas' benefactions alluded to by Diodorus (20.40.6 mentions the "marks of favour which [Ophellas] had habitually displayed toward the city") consisted of similar shipments. Syracuse too held a strategic position for trade, and Athenian merchant activity there is documented for the period immediately prior to the alliance with Agathocles: a Carthaginian fleet invading Syracuse had found and destroyed two Athenian trade vessels in its harbour (Diod. 19.103.4). This act of aggression towards Athenian merchants may have further inclined Athens to seek revenge on Carthage, while the (indirect) collaboration with Agathocles may have strengthened Athens' access to Sicilian trade. In addition, the proposed campaign offered the prospect of stable access to the abundant resources of Carthage. Those enlisting with Ophellas are stated to have done so on the prospect of colonising the fertile African plains (so Diod. 20.40.6; 20.41.1);[98] such colonies would not only reduce the number of citizens needing provisions in Athens, but provide secure contacts for future Athenian trade with Africa. Athenian participation in Ophellas' mission is thus clearly consistent with Athenian interests.

The attempt to forge African contacts through Ophellas was crushed with the death of Ophellas himself, but the need to secure an avenue for grain imports remained. There is, after all, explicit testimony that grain supplies were a rather pressing concern by the time of the downfall of Demetrius of Phalerum. Athenian envoys were sent to Demetrius Poliorcetes immediately after his liberation of the city in June 307 to discuss the matter of grain, resulting in Poliorcetes' provision of one

[97] *RO* 96.
[98] Compare Strabo 17.3.23 on the fertility of Africa.

hundred and fifty-thousand *medimnoi*;[99] moreover, Poliorcetes gained entry to the Piraeus because his ships were mistaken for a Ptolemaic fleet, and it has been suggested that the purpose of such an anticipated Egyptian fleet may have been the provision of grain to Athens.[100] That Athens continued to look to Africa for grain in the closing months of Demetrius' rule may be confirmed by a fragmentary inscription, *IG* ii^2 418, in which are preserved the final lines of an Athenian decree honouring two envoys. From names of the ambassadors, Synalus and Bodmilcar, it is often assumed that the embassy came from Carthage.[101] The purpose and date of their visit have been lost, but it has been plausibly suggested that the negotiations concerned trade, and that the embassy took place in 307/6.[102] This proposed date would locate the Carthaginian embassy after the expedition of Ophellas, and almost exactly at the time at which Agathocles, who remained in Carthage with his forces, experienced a number of setbacks that culminated in a rebellion of his army and resulted in a peace treaty between the Syracusans and Carthaginians.[103] It is tempting to position the diplomatic activity in *IG* ii^2 418 against the backdrop of the demise of Agathocles' campaign, either as a Carthaginian manoeuvre to neutralise the Athenian contingent in the Syracusan forces, or as an Athenian initiative to bargain for trade rights before the ultimate collapse of the campaign. The existence of negotiations between Carthage and Athens hints that the relationship was an important one, and the purpose of the Carthaginians' mission may well have been the establishment of trade links.

---

[99] Diod. 20.46.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.1; [Plut.] *Mor.* 183c notes that the Athenians were in dire straits through lack of food.

[100] Cohen 1926, 90.

[101] Plut. *Dion* 25.5 names a Synalus in connection with a Carthaginian-controlled town in Sicily (the context is 357). The name Bomilcar (an equivalent of Bodmilcar: so Köhler, commentary on *IG* ii^2 418) is attested in Carthage (in 310) at Diod. 20.10.2ff.

[102] Tracy 1995, 138 assigns the undated stone to a cutter active in the period 320–298, and Walbank 1989 suggests that it may belong to the same stone as a fragmentary prescript (*Hesperia* 2 (1933) no. 18) dated to 307/6 (against his former assignation of it to the late 330s at Walbank 1985). Habicht 1997, 65 n. 81, however, suggests a slightly earlier context, linking this inscription with Ophellas' recruitment drive in Athens.

[103] The date of the prescript which Walbank associates with *IG* ii^2 418 is Boedromion, 307/6 (thus ca. October). On the cessation of the Carthaginian War, which followed the deaths of Agathocles' sons, see Diod. 20.69.3–5, fixing the context as winter, at the season of the setting of the Pleiades (ca. November). The winter in question was that of 307/6.

To this extent, then, while no naval mobilisations and alliances conflicted with Cassander's policies, and while many were clearly to his strategic advantage, Athens did not act exclusively as a tool for Macedonian policy. Cassander sought Athenian intervention chiefly in those centres in which Athens itself had a vested interest, and many of the ventures would, if successful, have directly benefited the city. Thus, for example, participation in the Third Diadochan War consisted of attempts to maintain traditional Athenian influence in the Aegean. Maintaining this influence had an ideological basis, harking back to the catch-cries of the Athenian empire; it had in addition a practical application, namely the ensuring of grain supplies. The later co-operation with Ophellas may similarly have been justified within Athens in terms of the grain supply: by gaining access to the resources of Carthage, Athens could compensate at least in part for her losses in the eastern Aegean.

One Athenian mobilisation is not so easily justified in terms of Athenian interest, and that is the use of Athenian ships to support Cassander's siege at Oreus, in Euboea, in 312. Unlike other engagements under Demetrius' auspices, a direct benefit to Athens, or satisfaction of Athenian aims, is difficult to discern in this interlude;[104] rather, the dispatch of Thymochares was a response to a pressing crisis facing Cassander. The extraordinary conditions of 313, conditions which had led Cassander to contemplate a compromise with Antigonus in talks at the Hellespont, may explain this recourse to Athens' naval resources at a time when tensions in the city may already have been running high in the aftermath of the failures at Lemnos and Samos. More than any prior mobilisation, the call-up for Oreus demonstrated the military subordination of Athens to the interests of the Macedonian hegemon.

The exceptional nature of the demand for help at Oreus may itself be reflected in Cassander's treatment of the Athenians. According to *IG* ii^2 682 (ll.16–18), the Athenian forces demanded special consideration at the siege: of the allies, the Athenian citizens alone did not have

[104] Athens had, of course, been involved earlier in Euboea, supporting one Euboean faction against another backed by Thebes in 357/56 (Diod. 16.7.2, Aesch. 2.85). Athenian influence there was, however, short-lived: in 349 Athens was unable to check a Euboean revolt, a revolt *perhaps* encouraged by Philip of Macedon who was certainly active on the island in the following years (see Cawkwell 1978 and Brunt 1969). As a result, most of the Euboean cities (including Oreus: so Hyp. 6.11, Paus. 1.1.3) sided with Macedon during the Lamian War.

to take part in some of the manual labour required in siege-works. This concession by a Macedonian hegemon to an allied Greek state, granted at the request of the Athenian commander, is virtually unparalleled: there are instances of Greek states declining involvement in wars of one Macedonian against another Macedonian—Byzantium chose neutrality in 313/12, for example, and Rhodes made an alliance with Demetrius conditional upon an exemption from contributing to wars with Ptolemy[105]—but these cases are hardly analogous. The concession may then be understood as a recognition of the novel circumstances of the siege, in which Athens was required to contribute to a campaign which was not to her immediate advantage and which could not be justified in terms of her own local aims.

The overall picture to emerge of relations between Cassander and Athens is patently more complex than a simple transfer of the Athenian fleet into Cassander's hands. Athens retained independent objectives that could be pursued whenever they coincided with the strategic imperatives of the Macedonian hegemon. Despite Cassander's restrained use of Athenian resources, however, and the coupling of Athenian advantage with his strategic needs, the reality of Macedonian suzerainty could not be disguised. Similarly, the fact that Macedonian control of the Piraeus seems not to have impeded Athenian trade (Cassander's peace terms, at least, granted Athens her revenues: above, 247) will have done little to lessen the humiliation caused by the garrison's mere presence.[106] For Demetrius' Athenian opponents, any distinction between Athenian and Macedonian agendas was scant consolation, and did little to conceal the fact that Athenian foreign policy was largely at the behest of Cassander; the rather telling lack of apparent assembly ratification of fleet mobilisations under Demetrius has been observed in an earlier context (above, 124–25). There was enough truth in their allegations to allow Demetrius' enemies to portray him as puppet of Macedon, and to rail against the subjugation of their city.

The exchange between Demetrius of Phalerum and his arch-critic, Demochares (repeated by Polyb. 12.13.6–13 = Demetr. 89 SOD), once

[105] Diod. 19.77.7 on Byzantium; Plut. *Demetr*. 21–22 for Rhodes.

[106] A minimal impact on trade and revenues in the Phalerean period is posited also by Oliver 2007, 52.

again proves central to our conception of the regime. In this conflict, discussed already above (193–94), note is taken of Demetrius' pride in the plentiful supply of affordable food under his administration. The maintenance of an adequate food supply has been shown above to have been a guiding concern of Demetrius' foreign policy. Demochares in turn condemns Demetrius' achievements as gained through the surrender of Athenian independence:

> Demetrius was not ashamed of the fact that…the city had ceded the championship of all the ideals of Hellas to the others, and merely did what Cassander had ordered.

There may indeed be, in this coupling of prosperity with the city's subjugation, a deliberate inversion of the ideas of Thucydides' Pericles (2.28.2), who celebrated the material prosperity which Athens' hegemony of the islands bestowed upon her, and of [Xenophon's] *Athênaiôn Politeia* 2.7, in which the bountiful provisioning of the city is linked explicitly to mastery of the seas. For Demochares, Demetrius' economic success, far from being cause for admiration, served instead to underscore the great decline in Athenian power from the fifth century: wealth under Demetrius stemmed from political subservience, not imperialist expansion. In the light of such criticisms, Poliorcetes' donation of timber for ships, and his return of Imbros to the Athenians immediately after his liberation in 307/6, are striking.[107] It is tempting to see these gestures as designed to emphasise the change from Cassandran hegemony: under the Antigonids, Athens was once more to wield influence in the Aegean, and control a significant fleet. The renewed independence was, of course, to prove illusory, but the honours it elicited for the Antigonids reveal how keenly Athenians felt their subordination by Cassander.

[107] Diod. 20.46.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.1.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Through the preceding chapters, I have tried to show that the received picture of the Phalerean period warrants revision, and that too much of the change associated with Demetrius is based on preconceptions rather than on evidence. The need for reappraisal is most marked in the constitutional sphere. The Demetrius of Phalerum who has emerged from the preceding pages has been no arch-oligarch, no *misodêmos* trained in contempt for democracy by the philosophical school that educated him. Closer scrutiny of the sources gives support for only minimal alterations to the institutions of government, not for any implementation of a full-scale oligarchic platform. We have no compelling reason to believe, for example, that mechanisms consistent with democratic ideals, such as the selection of archons through sortition, were overturned in 317. The most significant reassessment urged by this study is that concerning the *nomophulakes*. On the conventional interpretation of these officials, they were central to the suppression of the democracy: they determined the legality of proceedings in the assembly, and, since this function was previously exercised through *graphê paranomôn* charges, their introduction diminished the powers of the courts. On the interpretation advanced above, by contrast, the *nomophulakes* are not to be viewed as a tool for repression of the assembly or courts, but as officials integral to a moral reform programme. The possibility of a *de facto* curtailment of assembly independence needs separate consideration. Cassander's alliance and *symmakhia* with Athens, combined with the presence of his Munychia garrison, necessarily curbed the autonomy of the assembly in the key area of its competence, namely foreign policy. But this is quite a different proposition from the assertion that Demetrius imposed constitutional impediments to the working of that body. As for any personal control of state affairs, Demetrius himself may not have 'overthrown the democracy' any more than Pericles, whose supremacy was not based on any extraordinary position or formal usurpation of power; it is no coincidence that echoes of Pericles recur throughout the ancient tradition on Demetrius.[1]

[1] For Pericles and Demetrius, see above, 127–28 on Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2 = Demetr. 18 SOD and on [Plut.] *Mor.* 818c = Demetr. 50 SOD; 228 on Aelian *V.H.* 3.17 = Demetr. 40 SOD for Demetrius and Pericles as patrons of intellectuals.

There is, in addition, no evidence to sustain belief in a return to a pre-Ephialtic state of Areopagite supremacy, in which that council gained judicial powers and had its prestige enhanced by the elected status of incoming members. On the contrary, references in the *Athênaiôn Politeia* to the domain of the early Areopagus, and the Philochoran extract on *nomophulakes* as reported by the *Lexicon Cantabrigiense*, suggest in combination that *nomophulakia* was regarded as the traditional preserve of the pre-Ephialtic Areopagus and that the creation of a board of *nomophulakes* was seen as part of a transfer of that power of scrutiny away from the Areopagus (a transfer of the kind associated with Ephialtes' reforms). The label applied by Demetrius to his new officials ought, then, to have suggested a board whose existence compromised the competence traditionally claimed by the old council, and it has been argued above that the Phalerean *nomophulakes,* and like them the *gunaikonomoi*, may well have circumscribed the independence of that body in matters in which the late fourth-century Areopagus had been reasserting its old domination. The aspect of *nomophulakia* at issue in the Phalerean period, however, was not the determination of the legality of laws or the scrutiny of magistrates, but the enforcement of standards of *eukosmia* in the citizen body.

On the findings advanced here, the defining 'oligarchic' feature of the regime was the restriction of full citizenship according to a criterion of wealth rather than exclusively of birth, and this reduction of the citizen body had itself been sufficient to warrant the impeachment of Demetrius in 307/6. Yet this prescription of citizenship was imposed by Cassander as part of his initial settlement, and not by Demetrius. Cassander's need to justify his usurpation of power by emphasising his relationship to Antipater dictated a pronounced similarity between his settlement of Athens in 317 and that of his father in 322. This conscious echo of Antipater's settlement of Athens ought not, however, encourage too ready or too simple a conflation of Demetrius' regime with its predecessor. Certainly, there were other continuities between the two, exemplified by the prominence in both of certain individuals: Archedicus of Lamptrai, Thrasycles of Thria, the general Thymochares are cases in point. But under Cassander's aegis, Demetrius watched over a state that seems to have avoided some of the oligarchic manifestations that had proved so offensive under Phocion. No *anagrapheus* is present on the inscriptional remains to mark this regime out as being 'undemocratic'; there are no insinuations against Demetrius, as there

are against Phocion and Demades, that he destroyed the courts, or somehow exerted control over the selection of magistrates. On these counts alone, and on the grounds that citizenship was much more generously defined in 317 than 322, Demetrius may be justified in his claim that he had "not only not destroyed the democracy, but actually strengthened it" (Strabo 9.1.20 = Demetr. 19 SOD).

Like his constitutional guidance, Demetrius' economic achievements were significant. His financial management may not have been motivated in the first instance by a desire to protect the financial interests of the middle echelons: such a concern, commonly asserted in some scholarship on the period, may mistake the nature of his success, and appears to rely heavily upon the belief, challenged above, that the abolition of liturgies can be assigned to the Phalerean period. The funerary provision prohibiting extravagance in monuments, for example, may have had the effect of preserving individual wealth, but its chief motivation need not have been economic. In the economic sphere, indeed, the adequate provisioning of Athens rather than the protection of personal fortunes may have been Demetrius' key concern. Such an objective is alluded to in a paraphrase by Demochares of Demetrius' own defence of his time in power (with Demochares repeating the Phalerean's boast that "in the city, many things could be bought at reasonable prices and that provisions were abundantly available to all": so Polyb. 12.13.10 = Demetr. 89 SOD). Athens' trade routes had been made particularly vulnerable by the curtailment of her influence in the Aegean after the Lamian War, a vulnerability exacerbated when her affiliation with Cassander placed her island holdings under threat from Antigonus. Protection of trade was vital to the maintenance of Athenian supplies; the full scale of Demetrius' agenda in this area is better appreciated through examination of the naval activities of the period, with much of Athens' campaigning aimed at securing grain imports—either through combating piracy or establishing alternative trade routes to circumvent the Antigonid-controlled east Aegean. Demetrius' successful provisioning of Athens, in a period as turbulent as the closing decades of the fourth century, is a notable achievement, for resourcing was often perilous: Demetrius Poliorcetes would later find it necessary to lavish thousands of bushels of wheat on the city, as would Lysimachus of Thrace.

The view of Phalerean economic objectives advanced above reinforces the conclusions drawn about constitutional changes: in neither financial management nor in alterations to the institutions of democracy is there

convincing evidence for a concerted policy of protecting the middle and upper classes. Demetrius' aim, I have argued, was not to safeguard the fortunes of the wealthy, nor to ensure their political advancement. The overall understanding of the government formulated here is thus radically different from the view that sees Demetrius as the quintessential oligarch, imposing conservative policies designed to replace the rule of the mob with the rule of law. Historians have, perhaps, been too willing to ascribe to Demetrius, a native-born Athenian, the reservations about democratic government expressed by his foreign associates in the Peripatos.

My analysis of his reforms has concluded that the only securely attested feature of the regime is a programme of moral and religious reform, comprising sumptuary laws and new officials for their enforcement; it was this coherent body of reform which earned Demetrius the appellation "third lawgiver (*nomothetês*) of Athens" (Syncellus p. 521 Dind. = Demetr. 20B SOD). I have attempted to show that the restrictions on guest numbers for religious feasts and on burial practices, and further a restriction on khoregic monuments, were primarily motivated not by economic objectives, but by notions of religious decorum and propriety. In the case of the burial and khoregic restrictions, the impetus was, more specifically, a desire to check the extravagant tendencies that had seen these private monuments begin to approach personal shrines and *hêrôia*. Such usurpation by mortals of the iconography of the divine was a prime target of Demetrius' legislation.

In essence, Demetrius' moral reform programme establishes his regime as a logical development of a historical and political trend established already under democratic rule. There are obvious points of similarity with initiatives sponsored by Lycurgus. An example in the legislative field is afforded by Lycurgus' law on women travelling to Eleusis, a law that may have been a precursor for the later introduction of Phalerean laws controlling the behaviour of women, and for the introduction of *gunaikonomoi*. The continuity exists at a fundamental level. The spirit driving much Lycurgan activity, and the spirit motivating the Phalerean reforms, was basically the same: both men aimed at regularising aspects of religious observance and personal conduct. In the opening chapter of his volume on the religion of Hellenistic Athens, Mikalson analyses in detail a range of Lycurgus' activities pertaining to the religious life of the city (including speeches, the restructuring of finances of sanctuaries, dedications and festivals, the commissioning of adornments for processions) and concludes that

they were designed to create *kosmos* in religious practice.[2] Combined with this interest in *eukosmia* and religious propriety was an increased trend toward state intervention and supervision. For evidence of this one need look no further than the development of the *ephêbeia*. Serving first and foremost a military function, the *ephêbeia* of the second half of the fourth century sought also to inculcate moral and religious values in the Athenian youth: this is evidenced by the facts that the *ephêboi* were supervised by a *sôphronistês* and a *kosmêtês*, and that their introduction to ephebic service took the form of a tour of the city's major temples. These ephebic officials and their curriculum are now generally accepted to have been a product of the Lycurgan period. The years preceding the Phalerean period, therefore, had witnessed the evolution of ideas vital to Demetrius' legislative package.

Demetrius' laws also pointed the way for the future. The creation of the *agônothesia*, which I have assigned to the 307/6 democracy, is in line with Lycurgus' and Demetrius' attempts to ensure religious propriety. Mikalson (who adopts the traditional dating to the Phalerean period) notes the coincidence in focus between the establishment of the *agônothesia* and the earlier Lycurgan period of reforms. Claiming that Lycurgus "had brought economies and order to the finances of state cults and to their handling of dedications" and that "the result had been not 'economising' at the expense of religion but a new *kosmos* for the sanctuaries," he suggests that the new dramatic festival organization may have been designed "to bring similar economy, order and *kosmos* to the very expensive and popular dramatic festivals."[3] (Noteworthy too in this context is the appearance in the mid-fourth century of *epimelêtai* for the Eleusinian Mysteries, officials explicitly charged with enforcing the *eukosmia* of the procession.)[4] The concern for *eukosmia*, particularly that of religious observances, which pervaded the Lycurgan and Phalerean periods, was thus extended beyond Demetrius' regime.

---

[2] Mikalson 1998, 11–45 on the age of Lycurgus; on the concern for *kosmos*, evident from Lycurgus' own decrees and in the decree awarding him posthumous honours, see esp. 19–21.

[3] Mikalson 1998, 55–56. Notable is the fact that Aristotle, in his discussion of the supervision exercised in the most orderly forms of states at *Pol.* 1322b37ff (on which, see above, 85–86), associates *nomophulakia* and *gunaikonomia,* the two forms of scrutiny closely associated with Phalerean rule, with a concern for decorum in dramatic and athletic contests.

[4] These *epimelêtai* are first attested epigraphically in 334/33 (*IG* ii^2 1496), but are mentioned in Dem. 21.171. Their punishment of the disorderly is stipulated in the law documented on *Agora* XVI no. 56. On their further duties compare [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 57.

This contemporary context for Demetrius' legislative programme allows a reappraisal of its ideological inclination. Certainly, on some measures, there is a tension with democratic principles. It is often among those writers like Isocrates and his pupils, writers themselves prey to suspicions of anti-democratic tendencies, that most interest in shown in moral legislation,[5] and it was the philosophical schools like the Academy and Peripatos, institutions again regarded with some suspicion by the Athenian democracy, that championed the notion of state intervention in private lives.[6] Moreover the regulation of citizen behaviour was incompatible with the type of Athenian democracy lauded by Thucydides' Pericles. Cohen sees this distinction—on the one hand Demetrius, the advocate of living well (*to eu zên*), on the other Pericles and the ideology of radical democracy, of living as one wishes (*zên hôs tis bouletai*)—as a fundamental cause behind the classification of the former as a tyrant, and an important factor in the Athenians' animosity towards him.[7]

The situation was, however, more complex. Developments in the pre-Phalerean period suggest that the Periclean perspective was not unanimously espoused even by convinced democrats in the next century.[8] Some elements of Lycurgus' activities had violated the spirit of Periclean Athens: an underlying conflict between fifth century democratic values and the structuring of the *ephêbeia*, for example, particularly in the appointment of a *sôphronistês* and *kosmêtês* to oversee behaviour, has been noted by other commentators.[9] A survey of the precedents and parallels for the Phalerean reforms confirms that his kind of legislation cannot be characterised schematically as either elitist or democratic. Some moral or luxury provisions could indeed be depicted as antitheti-

[5] Ephorus, to whom we owe most knowledge of the ancient moral legislation, is said to have been a student of Isocrates, as allegedly was Theopompus. The tradition on Isocrates' pupils may however be erroneous: Flower 1994, 42–62.

[6] Williams 1983a, 189 concludes that Demetrius attempted to implement the conservative / philosophical ideal that the goal of the state was to make men better.

[7] Cohen 1926, 94.

[8] This is not, however, to argue that it was wholly superseded: writing in the fourth century, Heraclides of Pontus (Wehrli F55) drew a connection between the lack of regulation imposed on the fifth century Athenians and their prowess.

[9] On the description of the *kosmêtês* in *Ath. Pol.* 42.2, Rhodes 1993, 504 writes "*kosmos*, 'orderliness', was a virtue associated more with Sparta…and with Crete…but it is not wholly alien to fourth century Athens: the *proedroi* were responsible for *eukosmia* at meetings of the *boulê* and assembly, decrees of the second half of the fourth century praise those who have secured the *eukosmia* of the theatre…"

cal to the democratic ethos.[10] Laws against idleness, for example, are not far in spirit from certain other measures that are given a decidedly anti-democratic cast in the ancient literature. An encouragement of farming, which Aristotle (*Pol.* 1319a26–32, cf. 1292b25–29 and 1318b9–16) ascribes to tyrannies and oligarchies, is attributed to Peisistratus, Periander of Corinth, and Phocion:[11] in both Athenian cases, it is stated to have improved the state's revenues, but it also reduced the opportunities for political participation within the *polis* itself. Plutarch (*Phoc.* 29.4) makes this political impact Phocion's central concern, stating that Phocion kept "meddlers and innovators" (*polupragmônes* and *neôteristai*) out of office by encouraging them towards agricultural labour.[12] Other curbing of private behaviour (particularly through sumptuary legislation) is thought, by contrast, to have been driven by the rise of the democratic forces. The earliest Athenian burial laws, for example, are believed by some to have acted as a democratic check on aristocratic privilege.[13] Moreover, while Aristotle cast *gunaikonomoi* as magistrates most suited to aristocratic states, recent studies of such officials demonstrate that they did in fact proliferate from the third century on under democratic regimes.[14] The pre-Phalerean laws that may have been adopted by the *gunaikonomoi* were given a democratic cast: Lycurgus is claimed to have justified his law preventing the use of private carriages in the Eleusinian procession on the grounds that his measure quelled the resentment of the poor ([Plut.] *Mor.* 842a–b).

The political tenor of Demetrius' moral law code should not be schematised too narrowly. Elements of his policy, such as the restriction

[10] For example, laws regulating drinking may have had an anti-democratic purpose: so Davidson 1997. One might note, too, the assessment by van Compernolle 1981 of the laws ascribed to the Locrian *nomothetês*, Zaleucus.

[11] For Peisistratus, [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 16.3; for Periander, Diog. Laert. 1.98, Nic. Dam. *FGrHist.* 90 F58.

[12] For the use of *polupragmôn* for a politically active citizen (particularly a champion of the *dêmos*) see Adkins 1976, esp. 310, 316ff.

[13] On Cleisthenes as the possible author of Athenian burial laws, see above, 48 n. 7. For the democratic nature of sumptuary legislation, see also Garland 1981, 98; Bonner & Smith 1930, 82 and Gehrke 1978, 167.

[14] Arist. *Pol.* 1300a4 (cf. 1323a4) pointing out the inappropriateness of regulating through *paidonomoi* and *gunaikonomoi* the public appearances of wives and children of poor citizens, since these cannot afford to remain in the sheltered seclusion of the home. For the actual appearance of these magistrates in democracies, however, see Wehrli 1962b, 36 n. 25. In this context, it is worth noting Pouilloux's reconstruction (Pouilloux 1954, 409) of the highly fragmentary Thasian inscription no. 155. He believes it to be part of a dress code, in which the regulations may well distinguish between different classes of women.

of burial monuments, were consistent with democratic principles, and indeed Gehrke believes the introduction of *gunaikonomoi* to have been a concession won by the democratic forces within Phalerean Athens.[15] This is not to argue that the entire moral programme was aimed at curbing extravagance in order to placate democratic sentiments: the scrutiny of private behaviour (the limitation of guest numbers at banquets, for example) went beyond the restriction of public display.[16] Moral reform had a still wider application, the creation of better citizens, and it is in this light that Demetrius' enactments, and indeed his own claim to have 'bettered' the democracy, are to be understood. By improving the propriety of the Athenians, Demetrius strengthened the democracy built upon those citizens. The sentiment was a blend of authoritarian and democratic thinking—authoritarian, in the promotion of state intervention in citizens' lives; democratic, in the desire to enhance the democratic constitution by that intervention—and as such it was entirely consistent with the spirit of the Lycurgan era.

The echoes of Lycurgan reform are important for understanding the Athenians' response to Demetrius' regime. Lycurgus was, after all, something of a figurehead for the restored democracy of 307/6: his surviving associates were elevated to political prominence, and honours awarded posthumously.[17] There was, therefore, hardly a repudiation of Lycurgus' policies, despite the resonances with the following Phalerean regime. This continuity with the Lycurgan period may go some way to explaining the ambiguity of the Athenians' contradictory response towards Demetrius himself in 307/6, with its initial hostility tempered by the lack of vengeance actually exacted.[18] The celebration of Lycurgus in 307/6 suggests that Demetrius' laws, which grew out of

---

[15] Gehrke 1978, 170.

[16] Indeed, Demetrius' supervisory officials could have been viewed by his opponents as measures to prevent dissent against the regime. Aristotle *Pol.* 1308b8 had observed that the supervision of private behaviour was a necessary precaution against political revolution.

[17] A text of the decree is preserved in [Plut.] *Mor.* 852a ff; two fragments survive from inscribed copies of the decree also (these are *IG* ii^2 457 and *IG* ii^2 513). The epigraphical remains are discussed by Oikonomedes 1986.

[18] The initial hostility is witnessed by the claim of Plut. *Demetr.* 9.3 = Demetr. 29 SOD that Demetrius of Phalerum was more afraid of the Athenians than of Poliorcetes' invading force, and again by the impeachment of Demetrius along with his associates. On the leniency later shown, see Philoch. *FGrHist.* 328 F66 = Demetr. 31 SOD with 163 above.

already established trends, might not have occasioned great hostility against him. In fact, some of Demetrius' provisions evidently survived beyond 307/6; funerary remains suggest that the monument restriction, for example, continued to be observed. There may, of course, have been some aspects of his reforms that were not widely acceptable. The intrusion of some laws into private homes (thus the banquet law), and more significantly still the imposition of new officials to police the laws, mark a departure from Lycurgan precedent: hence, no doubt, the abolition of the *gunaikonomoi* and *nomophulakes* in 307/6.[19] Importantly, in the manner of its enforcement, Demetrius' concern for orderly behaviour diverged from the example of Lycurgus, whose moral 'guardianship of the city' seems to have been exercised largely as an individual acting in the capacities (especially those of prosecutor or author of decrees) well sanctioned by democratic praxis.[20]

The essential factor eliciting hostility towards Demetrius may be found quite outside his activities as a legislator, and instead in his association with Cassander. It is the subordination of Athens to the Macedonian hegemon which generated the ire for which Demetrius, as the representative of Cassander's interests in Athens, was the natural target, and it is unsurprising that we have found, in so much of the invective directed against him, a consistent desire to link Demetrius in all his activities to his Macedonian overlords. One thinks here of the passages of calumny by Duris and Demochares, with their association of Demetrius in the profligacy of the Macedonians, or again of the spate of impiety trials with their undercurrent of Macedonian impiety and tyranny.[21] That it was Demetrius' perceived collaboration with Macedon, rather than the substance of his reforms, that was the

[19] It is argued above, 50–51, that Demetrius' burial laws were a departure from earlier provisions chiefly in the implementation of the law by a special magistrate.

[20] [Plut.] *Mor.* 841e, where Lycurgus is labelled guardian (*phulax*) of the city. The phrase is a little ambiguous, coming in a list of Lycurgus' official positions (such as his financial posts), rather than in the discussion of his prosecutions (treated at 843c ff). As there is no mention of any constitutional position held by Lycurgus that might have been the basis of his *phulakia* in the formal list of his career in the honorary decree, however, it seems unlikely that [Plut.] is here alluding to a formal role. The phrase may thus intend Lycurgus' prosecutions, since a remark upon his usefulness in the law courts does appear shortly afterwards. A subsequent allusion to the arrests made by Lycurgus is also suggestive of individual prosecutions, since the procedures of *endeixis* and *apagôgê* used against some kinds of criminals allowed the prosecutor to arrest the accused and entrust him to the eleven.

[21] On the garrison as a key cause of hostility, see also Williams 1983a, 96.

crux of the hostility is tantalisingly suggested by an implicit but surely conscious comparison between Demetrius and Lycurgus in two honorary decrees: one, the honorary decree for Demetrius passed by the deme Axione during his rule of the city (*IG* ii^2 1201 = Demetr. 16B SOD); the other, the posthumous honours for Lycurgus passed by the restored democracy after Demetrius' ousting (known from [Plut.] *Mor.* 852b and *IG* ii^2 457 + 513). The decree for Lycurgus commends him for making many fine laws for his country as a citizen (*politeuomenos nomous te pollous kai kalous ethêke têi patridi*); that for Demetrius had employed remarkably similar language, noting that after his election by the people, he made "fine laws" (*nomou*]*s eth*[*ê*]*ken kal*[*ous*).[22] Given that the phrase *nomous*... *ethêke* appears in Athenian honorary decrees only in these two instances, it is tempting to see the parallel as deliberate; in that case, the contrast between Lycurgus' status as simply a politically-engaged citizen (*politeuomenos*) and that of Demetrius, who legislated in some elected capacity, is surely significant.[23] Whatever the exact office to which Demetrius was elected (probably *nomothetês*, or—less likely—*epimelêtês*) and despite the polite insistence that he was chosen *by the Athenian people* (*hai*]*retheis hupo tou dêmou*, so line 11), he clearly owed his influence to his preferment from Cassander. His whole legislative programme was facilitated, and subsequently tainted, by that relationship.

Deliberate juxtaposition with Lycurgus is implied also in one of Duris' condemnations of Demetrius, a condemnation that again turns on the collapse of Athens' military independence (Athen. 542c = Demetr. 43 SOD). Duris states the level of the state's annual income under Demetrius to have been twelve hundred talents; this figure recalls the revenues supposedly mustered by Lycurgus ([Plut.] *Mor.* 842f).[24] It is an echo that again serves to emphasise the Macedonian domination behind Demetrius' rule: Lycurgus directed his funds into shoring up the city's independence, spending his money on military resources

[22] The restorations in *IG* ii^2 1201 here are largely accepted. One might compare too the registration of Demetrius' activity on the Marmor Parium *FGrHist.* 239 B 15–16 (= Demetr. 20A SOD): *Dêmêtrios nomous ethêken Athênêsin*.

[23] Certainly, honorary democratic decrees of the early third century may have been phrased to draw an explicit contrast with the periods of oligarchic government. See Osborne 1981b, 162 n. 27 on the decrees for Philippides of Kephale (*IG* ii^2 657), Demosthenes ([Plut.] *Mor.* 850f–51c) and Demochares ([Plut.] *Mor.* 851d–f).

[24] A slightly different sum of fifteen hundred talents for Lycurgus appears at [Plut.] *Mor.* 852b. On attempts to reconcile the Lycurgan accounts, see Burke 1985, 251–64.

such as new dockyards and arsenals;[25] Demetrius, by contrast, allegedly neglected the army (a claim which ought be understood as an allusion to the city's military subordination to Cassander) and used his revenues instead to support a dissolute lifestyle of extravagant banquets and illicit affairs.[26]

The close ties between Demetrius and Cassander, and the former's acceptance of Athens' subordination to the latter, thus loom large in contemporary verdicts on the regime. Although a Pericles in his domination of the assembly and his courting of the public, and although a fitting successor to Lycurgus in the spirit of his laws, Demetrius was condemned to failure primarily because of his complicity with the Macedonians. His tolerance of the Munychia garrison in particular provoked resentment, and on this basis the Athenians' reaction to him in 307/6 is understandable. Once Cassander's garrison had been expelled by Poliorcetes, Athens' hostility towards Demetrius waned. The impeachment trial of those associated with the regime was apparently not a priority of the new democracy; Philochorus (*FGrHist.* 328 F66 = Demetr. 31 SOD) implies some lapse between the restoration of the democracy at the beginning of 307/6 and the hearings against the alleged oligarchs.[27] The expulsion of the garrison had removed the main cause of animosity to Demetrius; that achieved, his fate was not of great concern to the Athenians.

A cruel irony awaited some of Demetrius' staunchest critics, whose calumny against the regime had made much of Demetrius' alleged transgressions against his own statutes. Demetrius' feasting and womanising, the impiety committed by him and by his philosophical colleagues: these would pale beside the behaviour of Poliorcetes, whose banquets, amours and religious innovation were more spectacular still. The liberator of the city and restorer of her democracy would be hailed as a god, and would go on to formulate a 'religious kingship' hitherto unknown to the Greek sphere.[28] His behaviour would increasingly infringe against the moral and religious sensibilities of the more traditionally pious among the Athenians: alleged against him, at least,

---

[25] Lycurgus' expenditure is detailed in Hyp. F121 Blass; it is celebrated also in his honorary decree.

[26] For Duris, this dissolute lifestyle was itself indicative of Demetrius' Macedonian connections: see above 194–95.

[27] Jacoby's attempts, in his commentary n. 10 on this Philochoran passage, to quantify the delay has on no firm evidence, and at n. 26 he is more circumspect.

[28] Diod. 20.45.2, Plut. *Demetr.* 10.4ff. For discussion, Habicht 1970, 43–48.

are the housing of his *hetairai* in the Parthenon, and the application of divine epithets and cult attributes to members of his entourage.[29] In some circles, therefore, the disillusionment with Poliorcetes was profound. Considered from the perspective of this later experience of Poliorcetes, the behaviour of Demetrius of Phalerum became seen by some as but a prelude to the later, more serious excesses of Poliorcetes: the liberator proved worse than the original oppressor. It is not surprising, then, that some of the later comments on Demetrius of Phalerum by his enemies (Duris of Samos and Demochares most notably) seem designed to evoke comparison with Poliorcetes, a comparison made still more tempting by the shared name (and, if one accepts the literary tradition on Lamia, the shared paramour). When one of Demetrius' critics noted with disdain the verses that the processional chorus had sung to Demetrius of Phalerum in the Dionysia of 309/8, verses in which the archon is hailed as "shaped like the sun" (*heliomorphos*), it is difficult not to draw a link with the explicitly deificatory verses composed by the poet Hermippus in 291/90 to celebrate Poliorcetes" visit to Athens in that year, verses in which Poliorcetes is saluted as one of "the greatest and the dearest of the gods".[30] Some lines of the hymn echo, and then transcend, those for Demetrius of Phalerum:

> It is a revered sight—his friends all in a circle,
> himself in the middle,
> as if his friends were stars, he the sun.

It is Duris of Samos who preserves for us this hymn, which is summarised also by Demochares (*FGrHist*. 76 F13); that it is Duris and (or) Demochares who recorded the earlier verses composed for Demetrius of Phalerum is unlikely to be coincidence.

Demetrius himself went into exile in 307/6, first to Thebes (so Plut. *Mor*. 69c–d = Demetr. 32 SOD and *Demetr*. 9.3 = Demetr. 29 SOD; Tzetzes *Hist*. 4.740 = Demetr. 34 SOD opts less plausibly for Corinth) and later to Egypt. His initial reversal of fortune seems to have been, at first, a harsh personal blow, and this humbling of the powerful ruler was seized upon with alacrity in the anecdotal tradition (see especially Demetr. 32, 34, 36 SOD). Ironically, for Demetrius himself, this expulsion from Athens marked the transition to a phase

---

[29] For the worship of Poliorcetes' mistresses, Lamia and Lenaea, see Demochares *FGrHist*. 75 F2.

[30] For comment and recent bibliography on the hymn, see Mikalson 1998, 94ff.

of his life that would in many ways have a greater impact on posterity than his rule of Athens itself had done. Much of the writing through which Demetrius remained known to later antiquity may belong to these later years; Cicero (*De Fin.* 5.19.53–54 = Demetr. 36 SOD) certainly implies as much, when he claims Demetrius as a model for his own decision to pursue philosophy after withdrawing from the public realm. Demetrius' works on fortune, *Peri Tukhês* (Demetr. 82A & B SOD) and his Homeric scholarship (Demetr. 143–45 SOD) are particularly deserving of mention here. His most momentous contributions yet may belong to his time in Egypt, where he became for a time an influential advisor to the Ptolemaic court (see Demetr. 35–41 SOD). There, he was allegedly instrumental in the compilation and translation into Greek of the Jewish sacred texts (Demetr. 59–66 SOD); another tradition assigns to him also a pivotal role in the formulation of the idea for the library of Alexandria (Demetr. 58 SOD), and thus Demetrius may have played a vital part in the collection and preservation of Peripatetic scholarship in later antiquity.[31] But his years in Egypt too ended badly. Having unwisely supported the claim to the Egyptian throne of Ptolemy Ceraunus over the successful rival bid of Ptolemy Philadelphus, an aged Demetrius found himself banished from Philadelphus' court (Diog. Laert. 5.78 = Demetr. 1 SOD; *Suda s.vv. Dêmêtrios Phanostratou Phalêreus* = Demetr. 2 SOD); he may even, if we believe Cicero (*Pro Rab. Post.* 9.23 = Demetr. 42 SOD), have paid the ultimate price for his mistaken judgement.

It is, nonetheless, in Egypt that Demetrius is remembered to this day. Without honour in his own land, he left Athens ringing with the calumnies of his detractors who ordered the destruction of his numerous statues throughout the city. Today a solitary statue of Demetrius presides over the foyer of the new Library of Alexandria. Based on no known likeness, the statue nonetheless bears witness to Demetrius' reputation in the expanding Greek world of the Hellenistic age, and perhaps also to the real and ongoing legacy of his formidable intellect and vision. In this new city, it was not in anyone's interest to deny him these.

[31] The reports on the library and the Septuagint are problematic in their details: in the light of the otherwise poor relations between Demetrius and Philadelphus, their alleged close collaboration in these two projects is particularly suspect. But Demetrius may have played a key advisory part under Soter for schemes brought later to fruition largely by Philadelphus. See also Tracy 1995, 49–51.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE REGIME OF DEMETRIUS

Among the Greek city-states, Athens' pre-eminence in antiquity is continued in the unique wealth of information preserved about it for later generations. This wealth is, however, relative. Documentation for Demetrius' regime is a mixed affair, much of it fragmentary and devoid of its original context; we have no continuous account of Athens during his time in power. Narrative accounts covering the late fourth century—notably books 18–20 of Diodorus' histories, and some lives of Plutarch (especially his *Demetrius*)—are focused instead on a bigger stage: the battle for power among Alexander's marshals. These overarching narratives do at least provide us with an external framework in which to set some of the individual snippets about Demetrius' Athens itself, a luxury unknown to students of Athens a century on.

We are fortunate also to have, embedded in later sources, fragments of the writings of contemporaries of Demetrius, some if not all of which are likely to be informed by personal experience of Athens under Demetrius' rule. In cataloguing our contemporary evidence, we must start with Demetrius of Phalerum himself. His political and historical writings are now, sadly, largely lost, a loss most regrettable in the cases of his *On the ten years* (*Peri tês dekateias*), *On legislation at Athens* (*Peri tês Athênêsi nomothesias*), *On constitutions at Athens* (*Peri tôn Athênêsi politeiôn*), *In defence of the constitution* (*Huper tês politeias*) and *A denunciation of the Athenians* (*Athênaiôn katadromê*), some of which certainly dealt with his own period of rule.[1] Brief allusions to, and paraphrases of, Demetrius' writings at least survive in later works. His career, with its twin concerns with politics and philosophy, made Demetrius a sympathetic and attractive figure to Cicero, who was obviously well acquainted with Demetrius' output. It is by Cicero that some of the most important of Demetrius' fragments have been preserved (see, in particular, *De Legibus* 2.65–67 = Demetr. 53 SOD, on Demetrius' burial legislation).

[1] This is not to suggest, however, that these titles were devoted exclusively to his own government: see above, 142 n. 112.

Central too to our tradition on Demetrius is Demochares, nephew of Demosthenes. His writing about Demetrius is marked by antipathy. Demochares was an ardent democrat, and this difference of politics spilled over into a more personal tussle over the figure of Demosthenes (whose oratory and political courage Demetrius impugned).[2] The material relevant to Demetrius comes from Demochares' history (mentioned by Polybius) that ran to over twenty-one books; other material is drawn from the speech he composed for the defence of Sophocles in 306. (Sophocles was the author of the law that sought to bring philosophical schools under the regulation of the state: see above, 213ff) It can be demonstrated, in fact, that Demochares' speech for this occasion is likely to be the source of the material on Demetrius which Athenaeus (542e–f = Demetr. 43A SOD) attributes to Antigonus 'the Carystian' (active in the mid-third century), whose biographies of the philosophers will indeed have found a ready supply of information in Demochares' anti-philosophical harangues.[3] At 610e, Athenaeus cites Carystius for information concerning Lysimachus' expulsion of philosophers from his kingdom; Athenaeus then moves directly to discussion of the expulsion of Athenian philosophers and refers to Demochares' speech. The proximity in subject matter and chronology of the information directly attributed to Carystius and the following information on Athens and Demochares argue for the attribution of the later material also to Carystius. Athenaeus' quotations of Demochares' speech at 508–509 are also prefaced by references to Carystius. In fact, all allusions to Demochares' speech by Athenaeus are coupled with references to Carystius (with the exception of a possible quotation of a single line at 215c, the kind of *bon mot* which may have survived independently of its source). This suggests that Carystius' information on Demetrius (Athen. 542e ff) may derive from Demochares' speech also, a possibility given some corroboration by a resonance with a quotation

[2] The tenor of Demochares' politics is amply demonstrated by his activity under the democracy in the years 307–304/3, on which see Habicht 1997, 67–81 cf. Smith 1962, 114–8; his hostility to Demetrius' associates is discussed above, 205, cf. also 133. On his clash with Demetrius over the reputation of Demosthenes, see Cooper 2000 cf. 2009. Demochares assiduously cultivated the figure of his uncle, and echoes of Demosthenes' politics may be traced in Demochares' criticisms of Demetrius' behaviour: thus above, 198 n. 83.

[3] There may indeed be another intermediary source between Athenaeus and the Carystian, namely Herodicus the Cratetean. Düring 1987, 151 argues that Herodicus is the source of much anti-philosophical material in Athenaeus, and that Herodicus had access to Demochares' 307/6 speech through the medium of Carystius.

from Demochares found elsewhere in Rutilius Lupus, who at 1.20 cites part of a speech by Demochares that could be easily understood as a reference to the complicity of the tyrant, Demetrius, in the death of his brother Himeraeus; Carystius reports an allegation that Demetrius celebrated the divine manifestation of his brother, a charge designed to highlight just this complicity.[4]

The importance of Demochares cannot be overstated, for he may have influenced, directly or indirectly, some of our other contemporary testimonia for the period. His attacks on Demetrius may have shaped some of Demetrius' own later works in which he justified his rule; this, at least, may be the implication of Polybius' argument (at 12.13.9–12 = Demetr. 89 SOD) that Demetrius ought to have repeated certain allegations against Demochares in his own writings.[5] Further, the brothers from Samos, the historian Duris and his lesser-known sibling, Lynceus (writer of anecdotes, letters and comedies),[6] were in Athens during or immediately after the regime and commented on it; like Demochares, Duris is an ardent critic of Demetrius, and the similarity of their concerns and comments may betray a personal connection between the two writers.[7] Echoes of Demochares' rhetoric come through again in a fragment of Alexis' play *Hippeus*, produced in 306 at the height of the controversy over the law of Sophocles.[8] When

---

[4] Rutilius Lupus 1.20. *nihil enim valebat assidua pro fratre ac misericors deprecatio, cum iudicaret tyrannus, cuius crudelitas naturae necessitudinem extinguebat.* On the death of Himeraeus, see above, 33; for the implications of Carystius' accusation against Demetrius, see further 211ff.

[5] See above 159 n. 150, for material from Demetrius which may well form part of reaction against, or response to, Demochares' works.

[6] For discussion of Lynceus' writings, see Dalby 2000.

[7] For their studies in Athens, *FGrHist*. 76 T1–2. Lynceus' presence in Athens after 307 is suggested by his discussion of extravagance under Poliorcetes: see especially Athen. 128a–b, 101e–f, Plut. *Demetr*. 27.2. Kebric 1974 seeks to establish the political affiliations of Lynceus' family (his brother, the historian Duris, was tyrant of Samos in the third century) and from this suggests that Lynceus and Duris could not have been admitted to Cassander-held Athens. (Similarly, Billows 1990, 335 n. 15 advances the 290s as the likely time of the brothers' stay in Athens.) Although far from conclusive, Kebric's rationalization of Lynceus' sojourn is more convincing than that of Shipley 1987, 178 who places his stay much earlier by finding some reflection of Lynceus' friendship with Menander in the latter's play, *Samia* (which Shipley would date ca.310, although that date too is highly contentious; on the authority of Körte and Webster, Del Corno 1962, 141 dates *Samia* ca.320, while Arnott 1998, 35–36 argues for 314). For the possible influence of Demochares on Duris, see Kebric 1977, 25–26. On Duris' treatment of Demetrius see also Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 123–25.

[8] For the play's date, see the discussion and bibliography compiled by Arnott 1996, 858–59. (The fragment is his F99).

one of Alexis' characters asks "So *this* is what the Academy is, *this* is Xenocrates?" (*tout' estin Akadêmeia, touto Xenokratês*) it is hard not to hear a comical allusion to the catchcry Demochares seems to have used throughout his speech, as quoted, for example, at Athen. 509a "some of the Academic philosophers now are like that' (*toioutoi eisi kai nun tôn Akadêmaikôn tines*)".

Alexis brings us back to the contemporary poets. Demetrius' Athens was, of course, home to Menander, and perhaps Timocles too. Both were active in the city in the years just prior to 317: one of Timocles' plays was current at the time of the Harpalus affair, possibly for performance at the Lenaea of 323 (Athen. 341e–342a), and Menander seems to have begun his theatrical career a year or two later.[9] The latter poet clearly remained in the city during Demetrius' rule, since he was associated closely enough with him (Diog. Laert. 5.79 terms him a *philos* of Demetrius) to face the threat of prosecution after 307 because of that relationship.[10] Although on the whole less overtly political than their Old Comedy predecessors, the poets of Middle Comedy remained engaged in current affairs: alongside Alexis' jests about the law of Sophocles, Archedicus' lampooning of Demochares (on which, above 133ff) and Philippides' attacks on Demetrius Poliorcetes afford our clearest examples of this ongoing engagement. Within the limitations of their genre, their works thus remain useful to the historian; in the Phalerean period, this is particularly the case with the information yielded by comedy on the workings of the *gunaikonomoi*. The intrusion of lawmakers into the private domain seems in fact to have been a rich source of amusement for the poets: the restriction in the Lycurgan period on the use of carriages in the Eleusinian procession was remarked on in comedy, as was Demetrius' later restriction on banquet numbers. Next to Cicero's testimony for the burial laws, indeed, the comic poets provide us, through their jests on the officious *gunaikonomoi*, with our clearest insight into any individual law framed by Demetrius.

---

[9] The testimonia for the date of Menander's first play, and the date of his first victory, are conflicting. De Marcellus 1996 offers a recent and thorough examination of the problem, and locates Menander's first production in 322/21.

[10] It is dangerous, however, to assume from this association that Menander's plays were essentially sympathetic to the spirit of the regime (for such a reading of the *Dyskolos*, see Wiles 1984); his surviving reference to the *gunaikonomoi* is hardly flattering. For a more nuanced intepretation of Menander's politics, see now Lape 2004.

In spite of—indeed, because of—their polemic, our sources such as Demochares and Duris, such as Alexis and Demetrius himself, shed an invaluable light onto the Phalerean period. Through them we may glean something of contemporary sentiment. With one or two notable exceptions, however (one thinks here chiefly of Demetrius' description of his funerary law, as paraphrased by Cicero = Demetr. 53 SOD), these writers are not concerned with identifying and explaining Demetrius' administrative acts; it is rather the reactions elicited by his acts that is their concern. The tradition on the *gunaikonomoi* is a case in point. Our contemporary sources—Menander, Lynceus and Timocles—do not define these officials, nor tell us of the context of their introduction; they reveal something of one of the laws policed by these new officials, but do so only in passing, their real aim being to exploit the comic possibilities raised by the enforcement of the banquet law by the *gunaikonomoi*.

Much of the later literary tradition on Demetrius is similarly unconcerned with the details of his rule. The emphasis is, instead, eclectic and often personal (as are his appearances in Demetrius of Magnesia's work *Homonymoi*: the conflation of Demetrius of Phalerum with Demetrius Poliorcetes in a variety of anecdotes suggests that the shared name was a driving force behind some of the literary tradition).[11] It is in his guise as philosopher that Demetrius is particularly recorded, for it is in that manifestation that he merits attention in the biographical tradition focused particularly on the lives of eminent philosophers. Diogenes Laertius' life of Demetrius (5.75–83 = Demetr. 1 SOD) is our sole intact example of the form as it applied to Demetrius;[12] a pastiche of entertaining anecdotes and apophthegms with little interest in historical and political events, it is nonetheless the closest thing we have to a continuous narrative account of Demetrius' regime. Diogenes himself was drawing upon a rich tradition of biography of philosophers, from Hermippus in the third century to Favorinus in the late first or early second century AD. This biographical tradition itself ultimately owes a debt to Demochares and Duris, both of whom exerted a lasting

[11] Demetrius of Magnesia is cited by Diog. Laert. 5.75. Confusion of the two Demetrii is apparent in the *Suda* entry on Demetrius of Phalerum (*s.vv. Dêmêtrios Phanostratou Phalêreus* = Demetr. 2 SOD), Aelian *V.H.* 9.9 = Demetr. 43B SOD, and Phaedrus *Fab.* 5.1 = Demetr. 44 SOD. On the possibility that the two Demetrii were deliberately compared by contemporary detractors, see 299–300.

[12] Demetrius was also the subject of a work, now lost, by the otherwise unknown Asclepiades (see Athen. 567c = Demetr. 3 SOD).

influence on the literary tradition around Demetrius. The information about Demetrius preserved by Favorinus (Diog. Laert. 5.76) is a case in point: Favorinus' interest in the courtesan Lamia can be paralleled in Demochares' writings,[13] while his account of Demetrius' allegedly servile origins has a counterpart in Aelian *V. H.* 12.43, and Aelian can be demonstrated to have had access to Duris.[14]

Our understanding of Demetrius' administration and of his legislative activity is confined largely to the fragments of the seventh book of Philochorus' *Atthis*, and a series of entries in very late lexicons. In itself, Philochorus' *Atthis* is an excellent source, composed only decades after the collapse of Demetrius' regime by a well-informed and judicious scholar of Athenian constitutional history.[15] Yet in its application to Demetrius' regime, Philochorus' material must be handled with caution, resting as it does on the identification of book seven of the *Atthis* as a treatment of Demetrius' decade in power. That identification is widely believed, but not conclusively proved. Of the four surviving fragments of the book, two cannot be confined to a Phalerean context alone: these pertain to the garrisoning of Phyle, and to *apostoleis*, naval officials attested in the lifetime of Demosthenes. Treatments of the *nomophulakes* and *gunaikonomoi* make up the remaining fragments of book seven, but neither makes any direct reference to Demetrius. The reasons for associating book seven with Demetrius' government are based on inference alone:[16] the content of the books framing book seven point to a Phalerean concern in that book, since book six contains material thought to deal with Lycurgus, and book eight contains a reference to the archon year 307/6, the year of the restoration of the democracy after Demetrius.

Further complicating our use of Philochorus is the questionable reliability of the excerptors by whom fragments of the *Atthis* are preserved, excerptors on whom we are forced to rely also for our fragments of speeches of the orator Dinarchus, a contemporary and indeed

[13] Demochares wrote about Lamia's association with Poliorcetes: so Plut. *Demetr.* 27.4 = *FGrHist*. 75 F7. The manuscripts cite Demochares of Soli, but the identification of the Athenian Demochares is rarely challenged.

[14] At *V. H.* 9.9 (= Demetr. 43B SOD) Aelian quotes almost verbatim a passage from Duris (Athen. 542c–d = Demetr. 43A SOD) although Aelian transposes the material from Poliorcetes to the Phalerean.

[15] Philochorus' death occurred probably in the late 260s; see Jacoby's introduction to *FGrHist*. 328 in Dritter Teil b, col. 1 (text) esp. 220–22.

[16] Boeckh 1871, 421–22 argues for the Phalerean subject matter of book seven, and he is followed in this by Jacoby.

associate of Demetrius of Phalerum. These excerptors are all late, all unfamiliar with the constitution that Philochorus and Dinarchus were treating, and thus all susceptible to misrepresent the intentions or meanings of their sources; these late compilations, nonetheless, still offer what is often our only glimpse of otherwise lost earlier material. For the historian, these compilations offer a frustrating blend of the reliable and the misguided, and their entries need to be evaluated on an individual basis. Bentley's description of the author of the *Suda* as a 'sheep with a golden fleece' is apposite.

Some of these compilations belong to the lexicographical flurry of the late second century A.D. Pollux preserved in his *Onomastikon* (part rhetorical handbook, part encylopaedia-cum-lexicon) Philochorus' descriptions both of *gunaikonomoi* and of *nomophulakes*; both found a place in the eighth book of the *Onomastikon*, a book devoted to the Athenian constitution and composed at some time after Pollux' appointment to the chair of rhetoric in Athens (thus after AD 178). The *Onomastikon* itself, however, comes down to us indirectly, through an epitome made ca. 900 and itself subsequently interpolated. From a similar temporal context to Pollux is Harpocration, author of a lexicon based on the ten canonical Attic orators, a lexicon that preserves much of interest from Philochorus and Dinarchus.[17] Other lexicographers are much later still. The Byzantine encyclopaedia, the *Suda* (late tenth century) needs little introduction; less familiar to many will be the *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, a set of scholia found in the margins of a ca. 1330 manuscript of Harpocration![18] (The *Lex. Cantab.* is not in the same hand as the Harpocration manuscript, and its information is independent of Harpocration, although it does seem to share some material with other known lexical traditions.)[19] Interesting for our purposes is the clear indication that the compiler of this Lexicon knew not only Philochorus' *Atthis*, but also Demetrius of Phalerum's own work on Athenian legislation, the *Peri tês Athênêsi nomothesias*: Demetrius is cited for information on the Athenian assemblies (*s.vv. kuria ekklêsia* = Demetr. 99 SOD), on *eisangelia* (= Demetr. 96B SOD) and on procedures of law (*s.vv. mê ousa dikê* = Demetr. 97 SOD).

---

[17] Most recent is the edition of Keaney 1991.

[18] Tolkeihn, *RE* 12.2 *sv lexicographie*, wrongly locates the *Lex. Cantab.* on a manuscript of Hippocrates.

[19] See the comments of Nauck 1965, xlii–xliii, and Keaney 1991, xiv. The *Lex. Cantab.* itself is printed in Erbse 1965, 61–139.

APPENDIX 2

GUNAIKONOMOI & *NOMOPHULAKES*—A COMPARISON

In the discussion of the *nomophulakes* in chapter two, it was suggested that Demetrius created these officials by modifying a previously existing institution, that of the eleven gaolers (*hoi hendeka*).[1] A not dissimilar pattern—the creation of a supervisory board out of a relatively minor panel of sortitive magistrates—may be traced in the development of Demetrius' *gunaikonomoi*. Bayer has already proposed (although failing to volunteer much supporting evidence) that the *gunaikonomoi* bore some relationship to officials existing under the Athenian democracy, namely the *astunomoi*, and that upon their creation, the *gunaikonomoi* may have assumed some of the duties earlier performed by the city magistrates.[2] As detailed by Aristotle and the lexicographers, the main duties of the ten *astunomoi* involved the supervision of roads and buildings, a far cry from the enforcement of laws on women.[3] Nonetheless, it is clear that the *astunomoi* in the late 320s were responsible for luxury provisions that, in a later context, might quite plausibly have been assigned to the *gunaikonomoi*. For example, the *astunomoi* enforced those laws fixing the charges exacted by flute-girls, harp and lyre players (so [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 50.2; Hyp. 4.3); this brought them within the ambit of regulating feasts, and the best documented law regulated by *gunaikonomoi* under Demetrius' regime similarly concerned the conduct of banquets. Moreover we learn from Diogenes Laertius (6.90) that the cynic, Crates, was allegedly accosted by the *astunomoi* for wearing muslin. The anecdotal nature of this account prompts caution; it is moreover undatable, coming in a list of similarly undatable stories designed to illustrate Crates' character. Even if the incident with Crates is fictitious, however, the association of the *astunomoi* with sumptuary laws may well reflect Athenian practice. There is no explicit statement of an analogous law banning the wearing of

[1] For discussion of claims that 'the eleven' were dismantled by Phocion, see above, 28 n. 48.
[2] Bayer 1942, 51, following Lipsius 1966, 98.
[3] Arist. *Pol.* 1321b (not specifically of Athens); Hesychius *s.v astunomia; Schol.* Dem. 24.112.

certain garments in the Phalerean period, but in other states which had *gunaikonomoi*, regulations governing dress fell to them, and it is plausible that such laws were transferred to the Athenian *gunaikonomoi* upon the establishment of those magistrates.[4] A final area of overlap between the two sets of officials may be found in the regulation of religious processions. *Astunomoi* were involved, both prior to and after Demetrius' regime, in maintaining the paths along which processions moved; *gunaikonomoi* may have shared an interest in festival processions, since such officials are well attested as doing this in other Greek states.[5] It may be noted that in Thasos, a funeral law has both *gunaikonomoi* and *agoranomoi* (magistrates which, according to Pouilloux, combined the functions of Athenian *astunomoi* and *agoranomoi*) working in concert to oversee aspects of the burial procession.[6] In generalised terms, too, there is continuity: sources repeatedly define the *astunomoi* and *agoranomoi* in terms of a concern for *eukosmia*, the very quality associated with the *gunaikonomoi*.[7]

There may thus have been competences once held by the *astunomoi* that were transferred to the *gunaikonomoi* upon the establishment of that magistracy. There are also traces of alterations to the *astunomoi* that may have paved the way for Demetrius' subsequent creation of the magistracy, for a diminution of the *astunomoi* is attested under the regime of Phocion. Under the fourth-century democracy, the *astunomoi* numbered ten, with five allocated to the Piraeus and to Athens respectively, but from *IG* ii² 380 (320/19) we learn that, on the instigation of Demades, the functions of the Piraeus five were transferred to the *agoranomoi*.[8] Demades' measure has been taken by some to mean that the *astunomoi* were essentially disbanded, and remained so until well into the third century. This interpretation is largely founded upon the absence, between 320/19 and 287/86 (in which year they feature in *IG* ii² 659), of any record of their existence, but the dearth of inscriptional matter from the Phalerean period renders this sort

[4] For the enforcement of a dress code by *gunaikonomoi*, see Pouilloux 1954, no. 144. A list of *gunaikonomoi* enforcing such regulations is complied by Gehrke 1978, 168 n. 97.

[5] For the *astunomoi*, *IG* ii² 380 (320/19); *IG* ii² 659 (287/86).

[6] Pouilloux 1954, no. 141.

[7] See particularly Arist. *Pol.* 1321b; Plato *Nomoi*. 849a.

[8] The inscription does deal specifically with the Piraeus *agoranomoi* (ll.9, 140: they are to assume the duties of the *astunomoi*). The changes were probably pragmatic rather than ideologically driven: so Gehrke 1976, 94.

of argument *ex silentio* especially hazardous. In consequence, the full abolition of the *astunomoi* in 320/19 cannot be demonstrated conclusively; all that may be stated with certainty is that, upon the inception of the Phalerean regime, the *astunomoi* did not remain in the form they held in the 320s. When the *astunomoi* do re-appear in 287/86, it is in the capacity of their involvement in a procession of Aphrodite (thus *IG* ii^2 659 ll.10–11); any resumption of more general duties is not documented.

The restriction of the *astunomoi* may be related in some way to the creation of the *gunaikonomoi*, although the exact transition is not documented. It is conceivable, nevertheless, that Demades' diminution of the *astunomoi* might have preceded, and indeed encouraged, the creation of the new board to absorb some of the functions once performed by the full board of *astunomoi*; thus too when the *astunomoi* were recreated later in the third century, they retained functions typical of the *gunaikonomoi* with their supervision of religious processions. If this relationship between *astunomoi* and *gunaikonomoi* is correct, it provides a parallel for the process of formation of the *nomophulakes* from the *hendeka*. This similarity may further encourage us to believe that both the *nomophulakes* and the *gunaikonomoi* were indeed the creation of the same legislator; again, the weight of the evidence points to Demetrius of Phalerum.

APPENDIX 3

THE DUTIES OF THE *GUNAIKONOMOI*: A REJECTED SUGGESTION

In addition to their policing of the laws traced in chapter two, Demetrius' *gunaikonomoi* have been associated in some modern discussions with the arbitration of dowry disputes. The attribution of such a function is largely unconvincing; as such, it has been confined here to an appendix.

Two passages from Menander, both presenting grave difficulties, are the key. The first passage in fact comes not straight from Menander but from Plautus' *Aulularia*, which contains at line 504 a reference to a *moribus praefectus mulierum*. Some, but not all, have seen in this a reference to the Greek office of the *gunaikonomos* and have supposed that Plautus was working from an original play by Menander. Even among those who believe that Plautus found this office in his Greek original, there is disagreement about the function of the original *gunaikonomos* in Menander's play: how much of the dialogue surrounding the reference to the *praefectus* can be attributed also to a Greek original? Wilamowitz took *Aulularia* 494–533 as Menander's material, but Kuiper, while accepting that the *praefectus* of 504 is from Menander, believes that Plautus has set him into a new context; Kuiper asserts, in a highly arbitrary fashion, that lines 503–504 originally came between lines 535–36.[1] On Wilamowitz' reading, the *gunaikonomos* / *praefectus* features in a discussion of the luxuries associated with women, and in particular of the accoutrements they demand when venturing out of the house.[2] Kuiper's view, by contrast, would associate the *gunaikonomos* with matters of dowry: at 474ff, the character Megadorus argues for the abolition of dowries since they allow women freedom from their husbands, and at 535–36, he returns to this point, concluding that dowerless women are under the control of their husbands.

[1] Stockert 1983, 142 notes the view of Leo and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that *moribus praefectus mulierum* corresponds to a Greek original. Fraenkel 1922, 137ff however, argues against any need for a model in Menander. Contrast Kuiper 1940, 7 n. 2.

[2] Compare Theoph. *Char*. 28.4, for similar concerns.

Kuiper's view is implicitly accepted by Gomme and Sandbach, who comment on *Aulularia* 535–36 to the effect that "the idea of fostering social concord" through limitation or regulation of dowries may have been a notion current at the time of the composition of the model for the *Aulularia*, and that such interest may indeed reflect the interests of Demetrius of Phalerum.[3]

Kuiper's imaginative restructuring of *Aulularia* would add a new sphere of influence to the Phalerean officals. An involvement by Athenian *gunaikonomoi* in dowry issues was suggested also by Garland, in her doctoral thesis on these magistrates.[4] Her argument is based upon a second passage of Menander, this time from *Epitrepontes*. The very existence of a *gunaikonomos* in this play is based, however, on highly controversial evidence, namely an infra-red examination of a papyrus fragment of the play (*P. Cairensis* 43227) made by Edmonds and published only after his death. From the infra-red photographs, Edmonds claimed to read stage directions, scholia and an interlineal paraphrase. As Garland herself notes, Edmonds' text has been widely rejected; while accepting the need to use this material with great caution, she nonetheless suggests that Edmonds' readings may still be used as evidence for the activities of the *gunaikonomoi*. This evidence points, on Garland's analysis, to the *gunaikonomos* acting as an arbitrator in marital disputes, and more particularly as an arbitrator for dowry problems. These 'dowry problems' arise from a quintessentially Menandran plot. A tight-fisted Athenian father, Smikrines, wishes to dissolve the marriage that he had brought about between his daughter, Pamphile, and a neighbour, Charisios, for Charisios is squandering Pamphile's dowry; Smikrines is unaware that Pamphile had been raped by Charisios at a festival before their marriage, and that she had borne and exposed the child she had conceived. In proper New Comedy style, Charisios is of course unaware of Pamphile's identity, and for this reason spurns her when he discovers her pregnancy; Pamphile, however, refuses to be parted from her husband. In Edmonds' reading of *Epitrepontes*, Smikrines threatens his obdurate daughter, saying "I shall bring the *gunaikonomos* to you, and he will take you from

[3] Gomme & Sandbach 1973, 184–85. They suggest that the Menandran model for *Aulularia* may have been composed close in time to the *Dyskolos*, itself produced in the first year of Demetrius' rule.

[4] Garland 1981, 156–70, with discussion of reviews of Edmonds' reading at 157–58; Edmonds 1961, 992–1211.

Charisios' house". Smikrines departs, and in the interim the identity of Pamphile's child is discovered and Pamphile and Charisios are reconciled. Smikrines returns with the *gunaikonomos* who declares "I have come to question Pamphile"; after performing his interrogation, the *gunaikonomos* declares "Pamphile is innocent, for I have found out about everything."

Garland believes that the arbitration performed by the *gunaikonomos* is concerned fundamentally with Pamphile's dowry; if the *gunaikonomos* had ruled against Pamphile, her marriage would have been dissolved and, under Athenian law, Charisios would have had to return the dowry so that Smikrines could marry his daughter off to another man. Garland proceeds to review Athenian dowry practice, contending that it was the cause of much dissatisfaction by the late fourth century because the financial independence a dowry bestowed made it possible for a wife to leave her husband (such indeed is the concern of Megadorus in *Aulularia*, and it is into such a context that Kuiper would insert Plautus' *praefectus moribus*). Garland (and, implicitly, Kuiper) sees the introduction of *gunaikonomoi* as reflecting "a concern by the civic leaders for the instability of the marital relationship," an instability engendered in the dowry system.[5] Their view adds a judicial function in dowry disputes to the other documented competences of the Phalerean *gunaikonomoi*.

How plausible is this added brief? Edmonds' text is indeed a shaky starting point; Arnott granted it only a single, condemnatory footnote in his Loeb text of Menander, and Sandbach did not see fit to mention it at all in his 1972 edition for the *Oxford Classical Texts* series.[6] If, with Garland, we provisionally accept Edmonds' reading of *P. Cairensis* 43227, we might agree that the decision of the *gunaikonomos* would determine the continuation or dissolution of Pamphile's marriage to Charisios. The arbitration by this official need not, however, be linked closely with the matter of the dowry itself. Indeed, according to Edmonds' reading, the *gunaikonomos* is clearly concerned with some aspect of *Pamphile's* behaviour, hence his judgement that *she* is innocent. He is not concerned with Charisios' behaviour, yet it is this

---

[5] Esp. Garland 1981, 169–70.

[6] Arnott 1979, xlix n. 1 asserts that Edmonds' edition "is vitiated by a series of delusions about what the editor imagined he could decipher on infra-red photographs of the Cairo index".

behaviour that is resulting in the dissipation of Pamphile's dowry.[7] Instead, Smikrines seems to be attempting to force his daughter from her marriage by employing the arbitrating *gunaikonomos* to make some finding against Pamphile herself. It would make more sense to suppose that Pamphile had been questioned about the circumstances of the conception of her illegitimate child (her rape at the Tauropolia festival), and that her inquisitor made no finding against her as a result. The fact that Smikrines is unable to recover the dowry may be a consequence of this finding, because he is unable to use the verdict of the *gunaikonomos* to end the marriage, but the recovery of that dowry need not have been the central issue under investigation.

These two rather dubious appearances of *gunaikonomoi* in Menander, in the Plautine *Aulularia* and in Edmonds' text of the *Epitrepontes* from *P. Cairensis* 43227, can in fact be understood within the parameters of their duties as described by other sources, without recourse to the creation of a jurisdiction in dowry issues. On Wilamowitz' understanding of the Plautine extract, the *gunaikonomos* is concerned with the luxurious trappings used by women outside the home; this is entirely consistent with the documented concern of *gunaikonomoi* for the *eukosmia* of women outside the home. In the case of Edmonds' *P. Cairensis* 43227, if the *gunaikonomos* did indeed question Pamphile on the events at the Tauropolia, his activity conforms to the known interest of such officials in the conduct of processions and festivals, and particularly in the behaviour at those religious celebrations observed by women.[8] In sum, these two passages, even if from Menander, do not add a new competence to the brief of the Phalerean *gunaikonomoi*.

---

[7] Harrison 1968, 19 notes a possibility that an unmarried man who had raped a girl could be compelled to marry her without a dowry, but there is no direct evidence for this. If such a law existed, Smikrines could conceivably have attempted to recover Pamphile's dowry by establishing that Charisios had raped her before their marriage, and was as such not entitled to the dowry. But the questioning of Pamphile, and the assertion of her innocence, as indicated by Edmonds, are not consistent with such a purpose for the visit of the *gunaikonomos*.

[8] Garland 1981, 150–51 herself notes a connection between these officials in other states (such as Methymna) and fears for the chastity of women at religious celebrations.

WORKS CITED

Adkins, Arthur W.H. 1976. "'*Polupragmosune*' and 'Minding One's Own Business': a Study in Greek Social and Political Values." *CPh* 71: 301–27.

Ampolo, Carmine. 1979. "Un politico 'euergete' del IV secolo A.C.: Xenokles figlio di Xeinis del demo di Sphettos." *Parola del Passato* 34: 167–78.

Amyx, Darrell A. 1958. "The Attic Stelai: Part III. Vases and Other Containers." *Hesperia* 27: 163–254.

Andrewes, Antony. 1978. "The Opposition to Pericles." *JHS* 108: 1–8.

Anson, Edward M. 2007. "Early Hellenistic Chronology: The Cuneiform Evidence." In Heckel, Tritle and Wheatley, 193–98.

Arnott, W. Geoffrey. 1979. *Menander* 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

—— 1996. *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— 1998. "First Notes on Menander's *Samia*." *ZPE* 121: 35–44.

Ashton, Norman G. 1977. "The Naumachia near Amorgos in 323 BC" *ABSA* 72: 1–11.

—— 1983. "The Lamian War: a False Start?" *Antichthon* 17: 47–63.

—— 1984. "The Lamian War—*Stat Magni Nominis Umbra*." *JHS* 54: 152–57.

Atkinson, Kathleen M.T. 1973. "Demosthenes, Alexander and *Asebeia*." *Athenaeum* 51: 310–35.

Austin, Roland G. 1959. "Virgil and the Wooden Horse." *JRS* 49: 16–25.

Badian, Ernst. 1958. "The Eunuch Bagoas: a Study in Method." *CQ* 8: 144–57.

—— 1989. "History from Square Brackets." *ZPE* 79: 59–70.

—— 1996. "Alexander the Great Between Two Thrones and Heaven: Variations on an Old Theme." In *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, *JRA* Supplement 17, ed. Alastair Small, 11–26. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Barringer, Judith M. 2003. "Panathenaic Games and Panathenaic Amphorae under Macedonian Rule." In Palagia and Tracy, 243–56.

Bauman, Richard A. 1990. *Political Trials in Ancient Greece*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bayer, Erich. 1969. *Demetrios Phalereus der Athener*. 1941. Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Baynham, Elizabeth J. 1994. "Antipater: Manager of Kings." In *Ventures into Greek History*, ed. Ian Worthington, 331–56. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

—— 2003. 'Antipater and Athens." In Palagia and Tracy, 23–29.

Beloch, Karl J. 1923. *Griechische Geschichte* 3.2. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Berve, Helmut. 1926. *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 2. Munich: C.H. Beck.

—— 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* 1. Munich: C.H. Beck.

Bicknell, Peter J. 1974. "Socrates' Mistress Xanthippe." *Apeiron* 8: 1–5.

Billows, Richard A. 1989. "Anatolian Dynasts: the Case of the Macedonian Eupolemus in Karia." *ClAnt.* 8: 173–206.

—— 1990. *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State.* Berkeley Cal.: University of California Press.

Bingen, Jean. 1957. "Le papyrus du gynéconome." *CE* 32: 337–39.

Blackwell, Christopher W. 1999. *In the Absence of Alexander. Harpalus and the Failure of Macedonian Authority*. New York: Peter Lang.

Blass, Friedrich W. 1898. *Die attische Beredsamkeit* 3.2. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

Boiy, Tom. 2007. "Cuneiform Tablets and Aramaic Ostraca: Between the High and Low Chronologies of the Early Diadoch Period." In Heckel, Tritle and Wheatley, 199–208.
Bonner, Robert J. and Gertrude Smith. 1930. *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle* 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Börker, Chirstoph. 1978. "Mosaiken im Hause des Demetrios von Phaleron." *ZPE* 29: 43–48.
Bosworth, A. Brian. 1971. "The Death of Alexander the Great: Rumour and Propaganda." *CQ* 21: 112–36.
—— 1988. *Conquest and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—— 1992. "Philip III Arrhidaeus and the Chronology of the Successors." *Chiron* 22: 55–81.
—— 1993. "Perdiccas and the Kings." *CQ* 43: 420–27.
—— 1994. "A New Macedonian Prince." *CQ* 44: 57–65.
—— 1998. *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— 2003. "Why did Athens Lose the Lamian War?" In Palagia and Tracy, 243–56.
Braun, Karin. 1970. "Der Dipylon-Brunnen B. Die Funde." *MDAI(A)* 85: 129–269.
Breslin, Joseph. 1985. "A Decree of Polyeuktos of Sphettos." *Ancient World* 12: 21–23.
Bruneau, Philippe. 1985. "Les ΑΝΘΙΝΑ ΕΔΑΦΗ de Démétrios de Phalère." *RPh* 59: 45–56.
Brunt, Peter. 1969. "Euboea in the Time of Philip II." *CQ* 19: 245–65.
Buchanan, James J. 1962. *Theorika: A Study of Monetary Distributions to the Athenian Citizenry During the Fifth and Fourth Centuries* BC. New York: J.J. Augustin.
Buraselis, Kostas. 1982. *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 73. Munich: C.H. Beck.
Burke, Edmund M. 1985. "Lycurgan Finances." *GRBS* 26: 251–64.
Butz, Patricia A. 1990/91. "The Columella of Hieronymos in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens." *Horos* 8/9: 67–74.
Calhoun, George M. 1964. *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
Camp, John M. 1986. *The Athenian Agora*: *Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Camp, John M. and Susan I. Rotroff. 1986. "The Date of the Third Period of the Pnyx." *Hesperia* 65: 263–94.
Carawan, Edwin M. 1985. "*Apophasis* and *Eisangelia*: the Role of the Areopagus in Athenian Political Trials." *GRBS* 26: 115–40.
Carey, Chris, Mike Edwards, Zoltán Farkas, Judson Herman, László Horváth, Gyula Mayer, Tamás Mészáros, Peter J. Rhodes, and Natalie Tchernetska. 2008. "Fragments of Hyperides' *Against Diondas* from the Archimedes Palimpsest." *ZPE* 165: 1–19.
Carney, Elizabeth D. 2006. *Olympias: Mother of Alexander the Great*. New York and London: Routledge.
Cawkwell, George L. 1963. "Eubulus." *JHS* 83: 47–67.
—— 1978. "Euboea in the Late 340s." *Phoenix* 32: 42–67.
—— 1981. "The Second Athenian Confederacy." *JHS* 101: 40–55.
—— 1988. "ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ and the Areopagus." *JHS* 108: 1–12.
—— 1994. "The Deification of Alexander the Great." In *Ventures into Greek History*, ed. Ian Worthington, 293–306. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Chamoux, François. 1956. "Le roi Magas." *RH* 216: 18–34.
Christophilopoulos, Anastasius P. 1968. "ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ" *Platon* 40: 134–43.
Chroust, Anton H. 1973. *Aristotle*. London: Routledge.
Clairmont, Christoph. 1970. *Gravestone and Epigram*. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
Clinton, Kevin. 1971. "Inscriptions from Eleusis." *AE*: 81–136.

Cohen, David. 1926. "De Demetrio Phalereo." *Mnemosyne N.S.* 54: 88–98.
Colombini, Arrigo. 1965. "Su alcuni tratti dell'opera politica e culturale di Demetrio Falereo." *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 1: 177–94.
Compernolle, René van. 1981. "La législation aristocratique de Locres Épizéphyrienne, dite législation de Zaleukos." *AC* 50: 759–69.
Conze, Alexander. 1922. *Die attischen Grabreliefs 4*. Berlin and Leipzig: W. Spemann.
Cooper, Craig. 2000. "Philosophers, Politics, Academics." In *Demosthenes: Statesman and Orator*, ed. Ian Worthington, 224–45. London and New York: Routledge.
—— 2009. "(Re)making Demosthenes: Demochares and Demetrius of Phalerum on Demosthenes." In *Alexander and His Successors. Essays from the Antipodes*, ed. Pat Wheatley and Robert Hannah, 310–22. Claremont, Cal.: Regina Books.
Crosby, Margaret. 1937. "Greek Inscriptions." *Hesperia* 6: 442–68.
—— 1938. "A Corrected Inscription." *Hesperia* 7: 476–79.
—— 1950. "The leases of the Laureion Mines." *Hesperia* 19: 180–312.
Dalby, Andrew. 2000. "Lynceus and the Anecdotists." In *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman World*, ed. David Braun and John Wilkins, 372–94. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
Davidson, James. 1997. "A Ban on Public Bars in Thasos?" *CQ* 47: 392–95.
Davies, John K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— 1977/78. "Athenian Citizenship." *CJ* 73: 105–21.
Davison, John. A. 1953. "Protagoras, Democritus and Anaxagoras." *CQ* 3: 33–45.
de Bruyn, Odile. 1995. *La Compétence de l'Aréopage en matière de procès publics.* Historia Einzelschrift 90. Stuttgart: Steiner.
del Corno, Dario. 1962. "Note Menandrée." *Dionisio* 36: 136–51.
Dentzer, Jean-Marie. 1982. *Le Motiv du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* Paris: de Boccard.
de Ste Croix, Geoffrey E.M. 1981. *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World. From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests.* London: Duckworth.
Derenne, Eudoore. 1930. *Les procès d'impiété intentes aux philosophes à Athènes au 5 et 4 siecles avant J.-C.* Liège: Imp. H. Vaillant-Carmanne, S.A. imp. De l'Académie; Paris: Edouard Champion.
De Sanctis, Gaetano. 1893. "Contributo alla storia ateniese dalla guerra Lamiaca alla guerra Cremonidea." In *Studi di storia antica 2*, ed. Guilio Beloch, 3–64. Rome: E. Loescher.
—— 1912. *Atthis. Storia della reppublica ateniese dalle origini alla età di Pericles.* Turin: Fratelli Bocca.
—— 1913. "I *nomophylakes* d'Atene." In *Entaphia in memoria di Emilio Pozzi la scuola torinese di storia antica*, 1–14. Turin: Università Turino.
Descat, Raymond. 1998. "La Carrière d'Eupolemos, stratège macédonien en Asie Mineure." *REA* 100: 167–90.
—— 2004. "L'Économie." In *Le Monde grec aux temps classiques. 2. Le IVe siècle.* Nouvelle Clio. L'histoire et ses problèmes, ed. Pierre Brulé and Raymond Descat, 353–411. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
Despinis, Giorgos, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Emmanouil Voutiras. 1997. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki I.* Thessaloniki: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation.
Dobias-Lalou, Catherine and André Laronde. 1977. "Un nouveau fragment de la stèle des ΣΥΛΑ de Cyrène." *REG* 90: 1–14.
Dohrn, Henning. 1825. *De vita et rebus Demetrii Phalerei Peripatetici.* Dissertation, Keil.
Dorandi, Tiziano. 1991. *Filodemo. Storia dei filosofi: Platone e l'Academia (PHerc. 1021 e 164).* Naples: Bibliopolis.
—— 1997. "Senocrate nel giudizio di Demetrio del Falereo." In *Beiträge zur antiken Philosophie. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kullman*, ed. Hans-Christian Günter and Antonios Rengakos, 271–78. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Dover, Kenneth J. 1976. "The Freedom of the Intellectual in Greek Society." *Talanta* 7: 24–54.
Dow, Sterling. 1960. "The Athenian epheboi, other staffs and the staff of the Diogeneion." *TAPA* 91: 381–409.
—— 1963a. "The Athenian Anagrapheis." *HSCP* 67: 37–54.
—— 1963b. "The Athenian Honours for Aristonikos of Karystos, Alexander's ΣΦΑΙΡΙΣΤΗΣ." *HSCP* 67: 77–92.
Dow, Sterling and David H. Gill. 1965. "The Greek Cult Table." *AJA* 69: 103–14.
Dow, Sterling. and Albert H. Travis. 1943. "Demetrius of Phaleron and his Lawgiving." *Hesperia* 12: 144–65.
Dreizehnter, Alois. 1972. "Die Bevölkerungszahl in Attika." *Klio* 54: 147–51.
—— 1978. "Nomos Argias: ein Gesetz gegen Müssiggang?" *AAAH* 26: 371–86.
Dreyer, Boris. 1999. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen (322–ca. 230 v. Chr.)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
Droysen, Johann G. 1952. *Geschichte des Hellenismus* 2, 2nd ed. 1877/78. Reprint, Basel: Schwabe.
Düring, Ingemar. 1957. *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition.* Göteborg: Elanders.
—— 1987. *Herodicus the Cratetean*. 1941. Reprint, New York: Garland.
Dušanić, Slobodan. 1965. "The Year of the Athenian archon Archippus II (318/7)." *BCH*: 128–41.
Eckstein, Felix. 1958. "Die attischen Grabmälergesetze." *JDAI* 73: 18–29.
Edmonds, John M. 1961. *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* 3B. Leiden: Brill.
Edwards, G. Roger. 1957. "Panathenaics of Hellenistic and Roman Times." *Hesperia* 26: 320–49.
Ehrenberg, Victor. 1938. "Ofella di Cirene." *RFIC* 66: 144–51.
Ellis, John R. 1968. "*IG* ii^2 450 (b), ll.7–8: an Emendation." *ABSA* 63: 229.
Engels, Johannes. 1988. "Das Eukratesgesetz und der Prozess der Kompetenzweiterung des Areopag in der Eubulos- und Lykurgära." *ZPE* 74: 181–209.
—— 1998. *Funerum Sepulchrorumque Magnificentia*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
Errington, R. Malcolm. 1975. "Samos and the Lamian War." *Chiron* 5: 51–57.
—— 1977. "Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi 320–311 BC" *Hermes* 105: 478–504.
—— 1977. *A History of Macedon*. Berkeley Cal.: University of California Press.
Faraguna, Michele. 1992. *Atene nell' età di Alessandro. Problemi politici, economici, finanziari*. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
Farnell, Lewis R. 1970. *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*. 1921. Reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Ferguson, William S. 1898. *The Athenian Secretaries*. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 7. Ithaca: Macmillan.
—— 1905. "Athenian Politics in the Early Third Century." *Klio* 5: 155–79.
—— 1909. "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents III." *Klio* 9: 304–40.
—— 1911a. *Hellenistic Athens*. London: Macmillan.
—— 1911b. "The Laws of Demetrius of Phalerum and their Guardians." *Klio* 11: 265–76.
Finley, Moses I. 1973. *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*. New York: Arno Press.
Flower, Michael A. 1994. *Theopompus of Chios*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Fortenbaugh, William W. and Eckart Schütrumpf, ed. 2000. *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion*. Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 9. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers.
Fraenkel, Eduard. 1922. *Plautinisches im Plautus*. Berlin: Weidmann.
Fraser, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— 1977. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press.
Fredricksmeyer, Ernest. 2003. "Alexander's Religion and Divinity." In *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. Joseph Roisman, 253–78. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Friis Johansen, Knud. 1951. *The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period*. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.
Funke, Peter. 1998. "Athen und Kleinasien im 4. Jh. v. Chr. : Überlegungen zum historisch-politischen Kontext eines neuen Proxeniedekretes aus Kaunos." *Kadmos* 37: 211–28.
Gabbert, Janice J. 1986. "Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period: a Career Open to Talents." *G&R* 33: 156–63.
Gagarin, Michael. 2000. "The legislation of Demetrius of Phalerum and the Transformation of Athenian Law." In Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf, 347–65.
Garland, B.J. 1981. *Gunaikonomoi: An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women*. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins.
Garland, Robert. 1989. "The Well-Ordered Corpse: an Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation." *BICS* 36: 1–15.
Gauthier, Philippe. 1985. "Les Chlamydes et l'entretian des éphébes athéniens." *Chiron* 15: 149–63.
—— 1998. "Bulletin Épigraphique 164." *REG* 111: 600.
Gawantka, Wilfried. 1983. "M.J. Osborne: *Naturalization in Athens*. (Review)." *Gnomon* 55: 596–601.
Geagan, Daniel J. 1967. *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*. Hesperia Suppl. 12. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
—— 1968. "Inscriptions from Nemea." *Hesperia* 37: 381–85.
Gehrke, Hans-Joachim. 1976. *Phokion. Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt*. Zetemata Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft Heft 64. Munich: C.H. Beck.
—— 1978. "Das Verhältnis von Politik und Philosophie im Wirken des Demetrios von Phaleron." *Chiron* 8: 149–93.
Geyer, Fritz. 1941. "Euboia in den Wirren der Diadochenzeit." *Philologus* 85: 175–91.
Gill, David. 1974. "*Trapezomata*: a Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice." *HThR* 67: 117–37.
Görler, Woldemar. 1989. "Cicero und die 'Schule des Aristoteles." In *Cicero's Knowledge of the Peripatos*. Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 4, ed. William W. Fortenbaugh and Peter Steinmetz, 246–63. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers.
Gomme, Arnold W. 1959. "The Population of Athens Again." *JHS* 79: 61–68.
Gomme, Arnold W. and Francis H. Sandbach. 1973. *Menander: A Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Gomme, Arnold W., Antony Andrewes, and Kenneth J. Dover. 1970. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Gottschalk, Hans B. 2000. "A Politician among Philosophers." In Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf, 367–80.
Green, Peter. 1990. *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
—— 2003. "Occupation and Coexistence: the Impact of Macedon on Athens, 323–307." In Palagia and Tracy, 1–7.
Grilli, Alberto. 1957. "Studi Paneziani." *SIFC* 29: 31–97.
Gullath, Brigitte. 1982. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Boiotiens in der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen*. Frankfurt: P. Lang.
Haake, Matthias. 2007. *Der Philosoph in der Stadt. Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Rede über Philosophen und Philosophie in den hellenistischen Poleis*. Vestigia 56. Munich: C.H. Beck.
Habicht, Christian. 1957. "Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit." *MDAI(A)* 72: 152–274.
—— 1970. *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, 2nd ed. Munich: C.H. Beck.
—— 1982. *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht.

—— 1985. *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
—— 1988. "Die beiden Xenocles von Sphettos." *Hesperia* 57: 323–27.
—— 1992. "Der Kyniker Teles und die Reform der athenischen Ephebie." *ZPE* 93: 47–49.
—— 1993. "The Comic Poet Archedikos." *Hesperia* 62: 253–56.
—— 1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*. Trans. D.L. Schneider. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.
Hammond, Nicholas G.L. and Guy T. Griffith. 1979. *A History of Macedonia* 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hammond, Nicholas G.L. and Frank W. Walbank. 1988. *A History of Macedonia* 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Handley, Eric W. 1965. *The Dyskolos of Menander*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Hansen, Morgens H. 1974. *The Sovereignty of the People's Court in Athens in the Fourth Century and the Public Action against Unconstitutional Proposals*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
—— 1976. *Apagoge, Endeixis and Ephegesis Against Kakourgoi, Atimoi and Pheugontes*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
—— 1986. *Demography and Democracy: the Number of Athenian Citzens in the Fourth Century*. Denmark: Systime.
—— 1991. *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles and Ideology*. Oxford: B. Blackwell.
—— 1996. "Reflections on the Number of Citizens Accommodated in the Assembly Place on the Pnyx." In *The Pnyx in the History of Athens*. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 2, ed. Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton, 23–35. Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.
Harding, Philip. 1977. "Atthis and Politeia." *Historia* 26: 148–60.
Harrison, Alick R.W. 1968. *The Law of Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hartel, Wilhelm A. 1878. *Studien über attisches Staatsrecht und Urkundenwesen*. Vienna: Gerold.
Hauben, Hans. 1973. "The Chronology of the Years 313–311 BC" *AJP* 94: 256–67.
—— 1974. "An Athenian Naval Victory in 321 BC" *ZPE* 13: 61–64.
—— 1975. *Het Vlootbevelhebberschap in de Vroege Diadochentijd (323–301 vóór Christus)*. Brussels: Paleis der Academien.
—— 1978. "The Ships of the Pydnaeans." *Anc. Soc.* 9: 47–54.
Heckel, Waldemar. 1992. *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*. London and New York: Routledge.
—— 2006. *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
Heckel, Waldemar, Lawrence Tritle and Pat Wheatley, ed. 2007. *Alexander's Empire. Formulation to Decay*. Claremont, Cal.: Regina Books.
Hedrick, Charles W. 1999. "Democracy and the Athenian Epigraphical Habit." *Hesperia* 68: 387–439.
Heldmann, Konrad. 1979. "'Hic primus inflexit orationem' und die gute alte Redenkunst." *RhM* 122: 317–25.
Hendrickson, G.L. 1904. "The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters." *AJPh* 25: 125–46.
Henry, Alan. S. 1977. *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*. Leiden: Brill.
—— 1983. *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees*. Hildesheim: Olms.
Herwig, Theodor. 1850. *Über Demetrius Phalereus*. Dissertation, Riteln.
Hignett, Charles. 1958. *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hill, George F. 1940. *A History of Cyprus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Holleaux, Maurice. 1938. *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecque*. Paris: de Boccard.

Hopper, Robert J. 1953. "The Attic Silver Mines in the Fourth Century BC" *ABSA* 48: 200–54.

—— 1961. "Mines and Miners of Ancient Athens." *G&R* 8: 138–51.

Hornblower, Jane. 1981. *Hieronymus of Cardia*. Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Horváth, László. 2008. "Dating Hyperides' *Against Diondas*." *ZPE* 166: 27–36.

Humphreys, Sally. 1985. "Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat." In *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr*, ed. John W. Eadie and Josiah Ober, 199–252. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Jaeger, Werner. 1938. *Demosthenes. The Origin and Growth of his Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— "The Date of Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* and the Athenian Opposition." *HSCP* Suppl. 1: 409–50.

Jones, Arnold H.M. 1957. *Athenian Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jordan, Borimir. 1970. "A Note on the Athenian *Strategeia*." *TAPA* 101: 229–39.

Jordan, David R. 1980. "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos." *MDAI(A)* 95: 225–39.

—— 1985. "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora." *GRBS* 26: 151–98.

Jouguet, Pierre. 1928. *Papyrus grecs de Lille*. Paris: E. Leroux.

Kalogéropoulou, Athina G. 1969. "Base en l'honneur de Démétrius de Phalère." *BCH* 93: 56–71.

Kassel, Rudolf and Colin Austin. 1991. *Poetae Comici Graeci* 2. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter.

Keaney, John J. 1991. *Harpocration. Lexeis of the Ten Orators*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.

Kearns, Emily. 1989. *The Heroes of Attica*. London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies.

Kebric, Robert B. 1977. *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Keil, Bruno. 1920. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Keil, Josef. 1913. "Ephesiche Bürgerrechts und Proxeniedekrete aus dem vierten und dritten Jahrundert v. Chr." *JÖAI* 16: 231–44.

Kirchner, Johannes. 1939. "Das Gesetz des Demetrios von Phaleron zur Einschränkung des Gräberluxus." *Die Antike* 15: 93–97.

Kirk, Geoffrey S. 1950. "The Michigan Alcidamas-papyrus; Heraclitus Fr. 56D; the Riddle of the Lice." *CQ* 44: 149–67.

Köhler, Ulrich. 1878. "Documente zur Geschichte des athenischen Theaters." *MDAI(A)* 3: 104–34, 229–58.

Körte, Alfred. 1953. *Menandri quae supersunt* 1. Leipzig: Teubner.

Kühner, Raphael and B. Gerth. 1898–1904. *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre*, 3th ed. Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung.

Kuiper, Walter E.J. 1940. *The Greek Aulularia*. Leiden: Brill.

Kurtz, Donna C. and John Boardman. 1971. *Greek Burial Customs*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Labarbe, Jules. 1995. "Une allocation pour les filles d'Aristide." *AC* 64: 1–14.

Lacroix, J. 1942/43. *Démétrius de Phàlere*. Dissertation, Liège.

Lambert, Stephen D. 1999. "*IG* ii^2 450, Athens and Asandros: a Note." *ZPE* 126: 129–30.

—— 2000–2003. "The First Athenian *Agonothetai*." *Horos* 14–16: 99–105.

Landucci Gattinoni, Franca. 1997. *Duride di Samo*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Lape, Susan. 2004. *Reproducing Athens. Menander's Comedy, Democratic Culture and the Hellenistic City*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Laqueur, Richard. 1908. "Die Litterarische Stellung des Anonymus Argentinensis." *Hermes* 43: 220–28.
Laronde, André. 1971. "Observations sur la politique d'Ophellas à Cyrène." *RH* 245: 297–306.
—— 1987. *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique. Libykai historiai de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste.* Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
Lauer, Jean P. 1951/52. "Les statues grecques du dromos du Sérapeion à Saqqarah découvertes par Mariette en 1851." *BIE* 34: 207–27.
Lewis, David M. 1997. *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, ed. Peter J. Rhodes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lipsius, Justus H. 1966. *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*. 1905–1915. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms.
Lohmann, Hans. 1979. *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*. Berlin: Mann.
Long, A.A. 1995. "Cicero's Plato and Aristotle." In *Cicero the Philosopher*, ed. Jonathan G.F. Powell, 37–61. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
Loraux, Nicole. 1986. *The Invention of Athens. The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Lynch, John P. 1972. *Aristotle's School*: *A Study of a Greek Educational Institution*. Berkeley Cal.: University of California Press.
McCredie, James R. 1984. "The 'Lantern' of Demosthenes and Lysikrates, Son of Lysitheides, of Kikynna." In *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday*. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs 10, ed. Kent J. Rigsby, 181–83. Durham N.C.: Duke University.
MacDowell, Douglas M. 1978. *The Law in Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Mansfeld, Jaap. 1979. "The Chronology of Anaxagoras' Athenian Period and the Date of his Trial I." *Mnemosyne* 32: 39–69.
—— 1980. "The Chronology of Anaxagoras' Athenian Period and the Date of his Trial II." *Mnemosyne* 33: 17–95.
De Marcellus, Henri. 1996. "*IG* XIV 1184 and the ephebic service of Menander." *ZPE* 110: 69–76.
Marasco, Gabriele. 1984. *Democare di Leuconoe: politica e cultura in Atene fra IV e III sec. A.-C.* Florence: Università degli studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità "Giorgia Pasquali".
Melville Jones, John R. 1980. "The Date of the Gold Drachma of Carystus." *Numismatic Chronicle*: 28–32.
Mensching, Eckart. 1963. "Peripatetiker über Alexander." *Historia* 12: 274–82.
Meritt, Benjamin D. 1974. "The Hadrianic Year of the Council at Athens." *Hesperia* 43: 460–66.
—— 1976. "The Year of Archippus at Athens (318/7 BC)." *Hesperia* 45: 173.
Merker, Irwin L. 1970 "The Ptolemaic Officials and the League of Islanders." *Historia* 19: 141–60.
Mikalson, Jon D. 1998. *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
Miller, Stella G. 1993. *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb*. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
Millett, Paul. 1989. "Patronage and its Avoidance in Classical Athens." In *Patronage in Ancient Society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 15–47. London and New York: Routledge.
Meillier, Claude. 1979. "P. Lille 70, 85, 86 et 114, 88, 127, 101." *CRIPEL* 5: 351–81.
Mitchel, Fordyce W. 1961. "The Cadet Colonels of the Ephebic Corps." *TAPA* 92: 347–57.
—— 1964. "Derkylos of Hagnous and the date of *IG* ii^2 1187." *Hesperia* 33: 337–51.

—— 1965. "Athens in the Age of Alexander." *G&R* 12: 189–204.
—— 1970. *Lykourgan Athens: 338–322 BC.* Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati.
Montanari, Franco. 2000. "Demetrius of Phalerum on Literature." In Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf, 391–411.
Moreno, Alfonso. 2007. *Feeding the Democracy: the Athenian Grain Supply in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
Moreno, Paolo. 1987. "Vita e Opere di Lisippo." In *Lysippe e son Influence*, ed. Jacques Chanay and Jean-Louis Maier, 11–55. Geneva: Association Hellas et Roma.
Moretti, Luigi. 1967. *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* 1. Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice.
Morgan, John D. 2002. "A Badly Restored Sculptor's Name in the Erechtheion Accounts." *AJA* 106: 296.
Mørkholm, Otto. 1980. "Cyrene and Ptolemy I: Some Numismatic Comments." *Chiron* 10: 145–59.
Mørkholm, Otto, Philip Grierson and Ulla Westermark. 1991. *Early Hellenistic Coinage: From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 BC).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Morris, Ian. 1992. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
Morrow, Glenn R. 1960. *Plato's Cretan City.* Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Mosley, Derek J. 1973. *Envoys and Diplomacy in Ancient Greece.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.
Mossé, Claude. 1973. *Athens in Decline, 404–86 BC.* Trans. Jean Stewart. London: Routledge.
—— 1989. "Lycurgue l'Athénien: homme du passé ou précurseur de l'avenir?" *QS* 30: 25–36.
—— 1992. "Démétrios de Phalère: un philosophe au pouvoir?" In *Alexandrie, IIIe Siècle a.v.J.C.: tous les savoirs du monde ou Le rêve d'universalité des Ptolémées*, ed. Jacob Christian and François de Polignan, 83–92. Paris: Éd. Autrement.
Mulvany, C.M. 1926. "Notes on the Legend of Aristotle." *CQ* 20: 155–67.
Mylonas, George E. 1961. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Nagy, Blaise. 1978. "The Athenian Athlothetai." *GRBS* 19: 307–13.
Nagy, Gregory. 1996. *Poetry as Performance. Homer and Beyond.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
Nauck, August, ed. 1965. *Lexicon Vindobonense.* 1867. Reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms.
Norvin, William, ed. 1966. *Olympiodori philosophi in Platonis Gorgiam commentaria.* 1936. Reprint, Hidesheim: Olms.
Ober, Josiah. 1998. *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens. Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Oikonomides, Alcibiade N. 1986. "The Epigraphical Tradition of the Decree of Stratokles Honoring 'Post Mortem' the Orator Lykourgos. *IG* ii^{2} 457 and *IG* ii^{2} 513." *Ancient World* 14: 51–54.
O'Keefe, Tim. 2006. "Socrates' Therapeutic Use of Inconsistency in the *Axiochus*." *Phronesis* 51: 388–407.
Oliver, Graham J. 2003. "Oligarchy at Athens after the Lamian War: Epigraphic Evidence for the *Boule* and *Ekklesia*." In Palagia and Tracy, 40–51.
—— 2007. *War, Food and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Oliver, James H. 1935. "Greek Inscriptions." *Hesperia* 4: 5–70.
—— 1977. "The Vatican Fragments of Greek Political Theory." *GRBS* 18: 321–39.
Ophuijsen, Johannes M. van. 1994. "Where Have the Topics Gone?" In *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle*, ed. David C. Mirhady and William W. Fortenbaugh, 131–73. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers.

Ormerod, Henry A. 1969. *Piracy in the Ancient World: An Essay in Mediterranean History*. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool.
Osborne, Michael J. 1979. "Kallias, Phaidros and the Revolt of Athens in 287 BC" *ZPE* 35: 181–94.
—— 1981–1983. *Naturalization in Athens* 1–4. Brussels: Paleis der Academien.
—— 1981. "Entertainment in the Prytaneion at Athens." *ZPE* 41: 153–70.
—— 1985. "The archonship of Nikias Hysteros and the Secretarial Cycles in the Third Century BC" *ZPE* 58: 275–95.
Ostermann, Christian. 1857. *Commentatio de Demetrii Phalerei vita, rebus gestis et scriptorum reliquiis*. Hersfel: Fulda.
Ostwald, Martin. 1969. *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
O'Sullivan, Lara. 1997a. "Athenian Impiety Trials in the Late Fourth Century BC" *CQ* 47: 136–52.
—— 1997b. "Asander, Athens and *IG* ii^2 450: a New Interpretation." *ZPE* 119: 107–16.
—— 2001. "Philochorus, Pollux and the Nomophulakes of Demetrius of Phalerum." *JHS* 121: 51–62.
—— 2002. "The Law of Sophocles and the Beginnings of Permanent Philosophical Schools in Athens." *RhM* 145: 251–62.
—— 2005. "Demetrius of Phaleron." In *Classical Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources*, ed. Michelle Ballif and Michael G. Moran, 119–23. Westport, CT and London: Praeger.
—— 2008a. "Athens, Intellectuals and Demetrius of Phalerum's *Socrates*." *TAPA* 138: 393–410.
—— 2008b. "*Le Roi Soleil*: Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Dawn of the Sun King." *Antichthon* 42: 78–99.
Palagia, Olga. 1998. "The Enemy Within: a Macedonian in Piraeus." In *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture. Proceedings of an International Conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 15–17, 1996*, ed. Olga Palagia and William Coulson, 15–26. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
Palagia, Olga and Stephen V. Tracy, ed. 2003. *The Macedonians in Athens, 322–229 BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
Papasis, Konstantin A. 1893. *Demetrius und die Stadt Athen*. Dissertation, Erlangen.
Pédech, Paul. 1961. *Polybe. Histoires Livre XII*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Pélékidis, Chrysis. 1962. *Histoire de l'éphébie attique*. Paris: de Boccard.
Perlman, Shalom. 1963. "The Politicians in the Athenian Democracy of the Fourth Century." *Athenaeum* 41: 327–55.
Petsas, Photios. 1978. *Pella: Alexander the Great's Capital*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.
Picard, Charles. 1953. "La statue-portrait de Démétrios de Phalère au Serapeion de Memphis, exèdre des poètes et des sages." *MMAI* 47: 77–97.
Pickard-Cambridge, Arthur. 1988. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 2nd ed, rev. John Gould and David M. Lewis. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Pimpl, Heidrun. 1997. *Perirrhanteria und Louteria: Entwicklung und Verwendung grosser Mamor- und Kalksteinbecken auf figürlichem und säulenartigem Untersatz in Griechenland*. Berlin: Köster.
Pomeroy, Sarah B. 1994. *Xenophon Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
—— 1996. "Families in Ptolemaic Egypt." In Wallace and Harris, 241–53.
Potter, David S. 1984. "Evidence for Athenian Involvement in the War of Agis III." *ABSA* 79: 229–35.
—— 1987. "Telesphorus, Cousin of Demetrius: A Note on the Trial of Menander." *Historia* 36: 491–95.
Pouilloux, Jean. 1954. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* 1. Paris: de Boccard.

Raubitschek, Antony E. 1943. "Greek Inscriptions." *Hesperia* 12: 12–88.
—— 1945. "The Pyloroi of the Akropolis." *TAPA* 76: 104–7.
—— 1962. "Demokratia." *Hesperia* 31: 238–43.
Rehm, Albert. 1937. "Antike Automobile." *Philologus*: 317–30.
Reinmuth, Oscar. 1971. *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century BC*. Leiden: Brill.
Reverdin, Olivier. 1945. *La Religion de la cité platonicienne*. Paris: de Boccard.
Rhodes, Peter J. 1972. *The Athenian Boule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— 1979. "ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ at Athens." *JHS* 99: 103–14.
—— 1980. "Ephebi, Bouleutae and the Population of Attica." *ZPE* 38: 191–201.
—— 1993. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— 1993. "One Treasurer Oligarchic, Many Treasurers Democratic?" In *Tria Lustra: essays and notes presented to John Pinsent*. Liverpool Classical Papers 3, ed. Henry D. Jocelyn, 1–3. Liverpool: Liverpool Classical Monthly.
—— 1995. "Judicial Procedures in Fourth-Century Athens: Improvement or Simply Change?" In *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. Walter Eder, 303–19. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
Rhodes, Peter J. with David M. Lewis. 1997. *The Decrees of the Greek States*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Richter, Gisela M.A. 1961. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*. London: Phaidon.
Ridgway, Brunilde S. 1992. "Aristonautes' Stele, Athens Nat. Mus. 738." In *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, ed. Harald von Froning, Tonio Hölscher, Erika Simon and Heide Froning, 270–75. Mainz: P. von Zabern.
Rihll, Tracey E. 1995. "Democracy Denied: Why Ephialtes Attacked the Areiopagus." *JHS* 115: 87–98.
Robert, Louis. 1977. "Une monnaie de Rhodes contremarquée." *RN* 19: 7–34.
Robertson, Charles M. 1965. "Greek Mosaics." *JHS* 85: 72–89.
Roesch, Paul. 1965. *Thespies et la confédération béotienne*. Paris: de Boccard.
Rohde, Erwin. 1950. *Psyche. The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Ancient Greeks*. 1925. Trans. from the 8th ed., W.B. Hillis. London: Routledge and K. Paul.
Romano, David G. 1996. "Lykourgos, the Panathenaia and the Great Altar of Athena." In *The Pnyx in the History of Athens*. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 2, ed. Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton, 71–85. Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens.
Romilly, Jacqueline de. 1971. *La loi dans la pensée grecque des origines à Aristote*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Roos, Anton G. 1967. *Flavii Arriani quae extant omnia* 2. Leipzig: Teubner.
Rose, Valentin. 1966. *Aristoteles Fragmenta*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
Rosen, Klaus. 1967. "Political Documents in Hieronymus of Cardia (323–302 BC)." *AC* 10: 41–94.
Roussel, Pierre. 1941. "Sur quelques inscriptions attiques v." *RA* 18: 209–32.
Rupp, David. 1980. "Altars as Funerary Monuments on Attic White Lekythoi." *AJA* 84: 524–27.
Ruschenbusch, Eberhard. 1966. ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΙ: *die Fragmente des Solonischen Gesetzeswerkes.* Weisbaden: Steiner.
—— 1966. "Ephialtes." *Historia* 15: 369–76.
—— 1981. "Noch Einmal die Bürgerzahl um 330 v. Chr." *ZPE* 44: 110–12.
Sampson, Adamantios A. 1975. "A Hellenistic Mosaic Floor in Chalkis." *AAA* 8: 200–207.
Sandbach, Francis H. 1972. *Menandri reliquae selectae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Scholl, Andreas. 1994. "ΠΟΛΥΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ: Zur literarischen und monumentalen Überlieferung aufwendiger Grabmäler im spätklassischen Athen." *JDAI* 109: 239–71.

Scholz, Peter. 1998. *Der Philosoph und die Politik. Die Ausbildung der philosophischen Lebensform und die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Philosophie und Politik im 4. Und 3. Ih. V. Chr.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
Schwarze, Joachim. 1971. *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie und ihre historische und historiographische Bedeutung.* Munich: C.H. Beck.
Schweigert, Eugene. 1939. "Greek Inscriptions." *Hesperia* 8: 1–47.
Schwenk, Cynthia J. 1985. *Athens in the Age of Alexander*. Chicago: Ares.
Schwyzer, Eduard. 1939–1950. *Griechische Grammatik.* Munich: C.H. Beck.
Sciascia, G. 1965. "Il collegio dei nomofilaci, garanzia costituzionale delle repubbliche elleniche." In *Studi in onori B.Biondi*, 633–46. Milan: Giuffrè.
Scott, Kenneth. 1928. "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Part 1." *AJPh* 49: 137–66.
Sealey, Raphael. 1958. "On Penalising Areopagites." *AJPh* 79: 71–73.
—— 1964. "Ephialtes." *CPh* 59: 11–22.
Seibert, Jakob. 1969. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios* 1. Munich: C.H. Beck.
—— 1970. "Philokles, Sohn des Apollodoros, König der Sidonier." *Historia* 19: 337–51.
Shear, T. Leslie 1978. *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 BC Hesperia* Suppl. 17. Princeton N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Shipley, Graham. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
Simpson, Richard H. 1955. "Polemaeus' Invasion of Attica in 313 BC" *Mnemosyne* 8: 34–37.
Smith, Leonard C. 1961. "The Chronology of Books 18–20 of Diodorus Siculus." *AJPh* 82: 283–90.
—— 1962. "Demochares of Leuconoe and the Date of his Exile." *Historia* 11: 114–18.
Sollenberger, Michael G. 2000. "Diogenes Laertius' Life of Demetrius of Phalerum." In Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf, 311–29.
Soltau, Wilhelm. 1899. "Ein chronologisches Fragment der Oxyrhynchos-Papyri." *Philologus* 58: 558–76.
Souilhé, Joseph. 1919. *Étude sur le terme DUNAMIS dans les Dialogues de Platon.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcon.
Stager, Jennifer M.S. 2005. "A Phoenician Funerary Stele in Athens." *Hesperia* 74: 427–49.
Steinhauer, Georges. 1992. "ΥΠΟ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΧΑΡΝΕΩΝ" *AE* 131: 179–93.
Stichel, Rudolf H.W. 1992. "Columella—mensa—labellum." *AA* 107: 433–40.
Stockert, Walter, ed. 1983. *Plautus: Aulularia.* Stuttgart: Teubner.
Sundwall, Johannes. 1906. "De institutis reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis." *Acta Societatis Scientarum Fennicae* 34: 1–26.
Susemihl, Franz. 1891. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexanderinerzeit* 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
Szegedy-Maszak, Andrew. 1978. "Legends of the Greek lawgivers." *GRBS* 19: 199–209.
Taylor, Alfred E. 1917. "On the Date of the Trial of Anaxagoras." *CQ* 11: 81–87.
—— 1949. *Plato: the Man and his Work*, 6th ed. London: Methuen.
Thomas, Rosalind. 1994. "Law and the Lawgiver in Athenian Democracy." In *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. Robin Osborne and Simon Hornblower, 119–33. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
Thompson, Homer A. 1952. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1951." *Hesperia* 21: 83–113.
—— 1954. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1953." *Hesperia* 23: 31–67.
Thönges-Stringaris, Rhea M. 1965. "Das griechische Totenmahl." *MDAI(A)* 80: 1–99.
Thonemann, Peter J. 2005. "The Tragic King: Demetrios Poliorketes and the City of Athens." In *Imagining Kings: Royal Images in the Acient Near East, Greece and*

Rome. Oriens et Occidens 11, ed. Olivier Hekster and Richard Fowler, 63–86. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
Toher, Mark. 1986. "The Tenth Table and the Conflict of the Orders." In *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub, 301–26. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
Tracy, Stephen V. 1991. "ΤΟ ΜΗ ΔΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΝ." *CP* 86: 201–4.
—— 1993. "De Antipatro et Archedico Lamptrensi." *Hesperia* 62: 249–51.
—— 1994. "Hands in Greek Epigraphy—Demetrius of Phalerum." In *Boiotia Antiqua 4: Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on Boiotian Antiquities, Boiotian (and Other) Epigraphy*. McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History 15, ed. John M. Fossey, 151–61. Amsterdam: J. Gieben.
—— 1995. *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter Cutters of 340–290 BC*. Berkeley Cal.: University of California Press.
—— 2000. "Demetrius of Phalerum: Who Was He, and Who Was He Not?" In *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion*. Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 9, ed. William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf, 331–45. New Brunswick N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers.
—— 2004. "Reflections on the Athenian Ephebeia in the Hellenistic Age." In *Das hellenistische Gymnasion. Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel* 8, ed. Daniel Kah and Peter Scholz, 201–10. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
Trevett, Jeremy. 1992. *Apollodorus, the Son of Pasion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
Tritle, Lawrence A. 1988. *Phocion the Good*. London and New York: Croom Helm.
Tsirivakos, E.K. 1971. "Kallithea. Ergebnis der Ausgrabung." *AAA* 4: 108–110.
Turner, Eric G. 1955. *The Hibeh Papyri* 2. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch.
Twele, Jochen R.A. 1975. "Columellam…aut mensam…aut labellum: Archaeological Remarks on Cicero's *De Legibus* 2.66." *The Paul Getty Museum Journal* 2: 93–98.
Walbank, Frank W. 1945. "Men and Donkeys." *CQ* 39: 122.
—— 1967. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Walbank, Michael B. 1985. "Athens, Carthage and Tyre (*IG* ii^2 342+)." *ZPE* 59: 107–11.
—— 1989. "Two Attic Masons of the Late Fourth Century B.C." *ABSA* 84: 395–405.
Wallace, Robert W. 1974. "Ephialtes and the Areopagus." *GRBS* 15: 259–69.
—— 1983. "The Date of Solon's Reforms." *AJAH* 8: 81–95.
—— 1989. *The Areopagus Council to 307 BC*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
—— 1996. "Book Burning in Ancient Athens." In Wallace and Harris, 226–40.
—— 1997. "On Not Legislating Sexual Conduct in Fourth-Century Athens." In *Symposion 1995: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*. Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 11, ed. Gerhard Thür and Julie Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas, 151–66. Köln: Böhlau.
—— 2000. "'Investigations and Reports' by the Areopagus Council and Demosthenes' Areopagus Decree." In *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Morgens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Thomas Heine Nielsen and Lene Rubinstein, 581–95. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
Wallace, Robert W. and Edward M. Harris, ed. 1996. *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 BC in Honor of E. Badian*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Wehrli, Claude. 1962. "Contribution à l'étude des Onze (οἱ ἕνδεκα)." *Historia* 11: 383–84.
—— 1962. "Les gynéconomes." *Mus. Helv.* 19: 33–38.
Wheatley, Patrick V. 1998. "The Chronology of the Third Diadoch War, 315–311 BC" *Phoenix* 52: 257–81.

—— 2003. "Lamia and the Besieger: an Athenian Hetaera and a Macedonian King." In Palagia and Tracy, 30–36.
—— 2007. "An Introduction to the Chronological Problems in Early Diadoch Sources and Scholarship." In Heckel, Tritle and Wheatley, 179–92.
Whitehead, David. 1977. *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic.* Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume 4. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
—— 1981. "Xenocrates the Metic." *RhM* 124: 223–44.
—— 1986. *The Demes of Attica, 508/7–ca. 250 BC: A Political and Social Study.* Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.
—— 2000. *Hypereides. The Forensic Speeches.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
—— 2005. "Ephorus (?) on the Spartan Constitution." *CQ* 55: 299–301.
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von. 1965. *Antigonos von Karystos.* 1881. Reprint, Berlin: Weidmann.
—— 1893. *Aristoteles und Athen.* Berlin: Weidmann.
Wilcken, Ulrich. 1907. "Der Anonymus Argentinensis." *Hermes* 42: 374–418.
Wiles, David. 1984. "Menander's *Dyskolos* and Demetrios of Phaleron's Dilemma." *G&R* 3: 170–80.
Wilhelm, Adolf. 1942. "Attische Urkunden V." *SBWien* 220: 179–82.
Will, Édouard. 1964. "Ophellas, Ptolémée, Cassandre et la chronologie." *REA* 66: 320–33.
Will, Ernest and Roland Martin. 1944/1945. "Fouilles de Thasos: campaigne de 1939." *BCH* 68: 129–62.
Will, Wolfgang. 1983. *Athen und Alexander. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v. Chr.* Munich: C.H. Beck.
Williams, James M. 1983a. *Athens Without Democracy: The Oligarchy of Phocion and the Tyranny of Demetrius of Phalerum.* Dissertation Yale.
—— 1983b. "Solon's Class System, the Manning of Athens' Fleet, and the Number of Athenian Thetes in the Late Fourth Century." *ZPE* 52: 241–45.
—— 1984. "A Note on Athenian Chronology, 319/18–318/17 BC" *Hermes* 112: 300–305.
—— 1987. "The Peripatetic School and Demetrius of Phalerum's Reforms in Athens." *Ancient World* 15: 87–98.
—— 1989. "Demades' Last Years, 323/2–319/8 BC: a 'Revisionist Interpretation.'" *Ancient World* 19: 19–30.
—— 1997. "Ideology and the Constitution of Demetrius of Phalerum." In *Polis and Polemos: Essays on Politics, War and History in Ancient Greece, in Honor of Donald Kagan*, ed. Charles D. Hamilton and Peter M. Krentz, 327–46. Claremont Cal.: Regina Books.
Wilson, Peter. 2000. *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
Winiarczyk, Marek. 1981. "Theodorus Ο ΑΘΕΟΣ" *Philologus* 125: 64–94.
Winter, Frederick E. 2006. *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture.* Phoenix Supplementary Volume 42. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Wolff, Hans J. 1970. *'Normenkontrolle' und Gesetzbegriff in der attischen Demokratie.* Heidelberg: Winter.
Woodbury, Leonard. 1981. "Anaxagoras and Athens." *Phoenix* 35: 295–315.
Wormell, Donald E.W. 1935. "The Literary Tradition Concerning Hermias of Atarneus." *YCS* 5: 55–92.
Worthington, Ian. 1992. *A Historical Commentary on Dinarchus: Rhetoric and Conspiracy in Later Fourth-Century Athens.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
—— 1994. "The Harpalus Affair and the Greek Response to Macedonian Hegemony." In *Ventures into Greek History*, ed. Ian Worthington, 307–30. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Zanker, Paul. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates. The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity.* Trans. Alan Shapiro. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
Ziehen, Ludwig and Ioannes de Prott. 1988. *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*. 1896–1906. Reprint (with prefatory note by Alcibiade Oikonomides), Chicago: Ares.

INDEX LOCORUM

Indexed below are the chief discussions of the testimonia to Demetrius of Phalerum, and of the fragmenta of his writing; the Demetrius numbers are those assigned by Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi (SOD) in the volume *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion.* Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 9, 2000, edited by William Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf (New Brunswick, N.J. & London: Transaction Publishers).

SOD	
1	9, 23, 127, 191, 218–19, 301, 309
2	127, 301, 309n
3	309n
4	9–10, 218
7	158
9A&B	145, 232
10	227
11	227n
12	32–33
13 A&B	33
15 A&B	32
16A	41–42, 96, 109, 114, 192, 241–42
16B	40, 46, 96, 128n, 242, 298
17	42, 105
18	42, 106, 127–28
19	45, 93, 105, 291
20A	46, 298n
20B	45, 96, 292
21	124, 259–60
22	115, 137, 266, 268–70
23	167
24–25	44, 126
27	105
28	97, 277–78
29	114, 165n, 173, 277–78, 300
30	97, 105, 276–78
31	105, 163, 299
32	300
33A&B	88, 227
34	300
36	238–39, 300–301
40	83, 228, 230
41	232, 301
42	301
43A	46–47, 65, 68–69, 86, 96, 139, 166, 180–81, 191–92, 194–95, 211, 213, 217–19, 298, 306–7
43B	309n
44	309n
45	97n
46	271
48	213, 227
49	226
50	128, 172–73
51	109–12
52	72–73
53	48–55, 91, 200, 305
54	191
55A&B	183–85
56	45, 93, 105n
57	237, 239
58	301
59–66	301
70–79	95, 189
82	301
87	95
89	128, 133–37, 166, 182, 193–94, 219, 286–87, 291, 307
90	97, 197n
93	236n
96A&B	142–44, 311
97	28n, 311
99	311
102	162n, 198n, 230
104	96n, 230–31
110	191
113	193n
115	177–78
116A&B	190
117	49
119	233, 234

120 232
121 232–35, 239n
122 232–35
124 232n, 233
125 232–35
126 146, 233–34
130 234
131A–C 32n, 235n
134–39 233
143–46 184, 301
151 232
153 67–70, 153–54, 166, 308, 310
156 159–60
162 247–48

GENERAL INDEX

Academy. *See* Plato
Acarnania, 260
Acropolis, Athenian: dedications on, 12n, 64, 126–27
Adeimantus, 223
Aegean: Athenian losses in, 263–64; Athenian hegemony of, 281
Aegina, 33, 38, 111n
Aeschines, Athenian orator, 57, 235
Aeschylus, tragedian, 19, 158n, 174, 229
Aetolia: and Athens, 12, 23, 266; and Antigonus, 264–65; hostility to Cassander, 251, 260, 266, 272
Agatharchides, 93
Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, 123n, 274–76
Agis III, Spartan king, 12
agônothetês/agônothesia, 168–185; introduction of, 168, 173–76, 181, 185; economic motives for, 168–171; political motives for, 170–71, 174–75; and *khorêgeia*, 168–69, 171, 176–81; and Demetrius of Phalerum, 171–73
agoranomoi, 28, 313
Alexander III, of Macedon, the Great, 1, 2, 21; Persian campaign, 11, 15, 35; and house of Antipater, 24, 90; and Aristotle, 204–5; and Athens, 10n, 11–12, 13–15, 23, 33, 37, 245n, 248; and Chios, 45; divinity of, 22, 59n, 61, 208; death of, 23, 25n, 33–34, 223
Alexander IV, of Macedon, 23–24, 34, 249, 250, 272
Alexander, son of Polyperchon: and Athens, 36, 37, 38, 39–40, 130, 243; and Antigonus Monophthalmus, 253, 264; in Peloponnese, 251, 252, 253, 264
Alexandria: and Demetrius of Phalerum, 83n, 227, 239, 301; library of, 227, 301
Alexis, comic poet: source for Demetrius' regime, 307–8
Ambracia, 11
Amphiarus, shrine of, 14
anagrapheus: under Phocion, 28–29, 31, 37n, 122; absent under Demetrius, 122
Anaxagoras, philosopher, 152n, 228
Anaxicrates, Athenian archon (307/6), 168, 173
Andania, 99n, 100n
Androcles of Sphettus, *agônothetês*, 168
Androtion, Atthidographer, 81, 151n
Antigonus of Carystius. *See* Carystius
Antigonus Monophthalmus, 1, 127, 145n, 159; and Antipater, 34, 255; and Eumenes, 249, 250, 252; and Cassander, 35, 38, 39, 125, 189, 248, 249, 253; and Polyperchon, 249; proclamation at Tyre, 253; Aegean campaigns, 253–54, 257–60, 280–81; Peloponnesian campaigns, 253–54, 264, 267, 271, 272; and Athens, 2, 173–74, 175, 176, 185, 189, 224–26, 255–57, 266, 276–77
Antipater, 5, 24, 30, 136, 223; settlement of Athens by, 24–32, 33, 113, 114, 115, 116; relations with Aristotle, 25n, 116n, 205
Antiphon, 153, 156
Apollodorus, archon (319/18), 29
apodektai (financial receivers): under Phocion, 28n
Apollonia/Apollonians, 245, 246
apophasis. *See* Areopagus
Archedicus of Lamptrai, poet and politician, 29, 129, 290; opponent of Demochares, 133–37
Archippus I archon (321/20), 29, 256
Archippus II (archon 318/17), 243n
archons: under Phocion, 28–29, 30, 129n; under Demetrius, 43, 77, 131–38, 148, 169; on Delos and Lemnos, 258–59; archonship of Demetrius of Phalerum, 182, 184, 193n, 213, 219, 273
Areopagus: duties before Ephialtes, 78–81, 139n, 141n, 143n; revival of powers in fourth century, 16–17, 148–51; attitude to Macedon, 156–59; under Demetrius of Phalerum, 147–59; relations with *nomophulakes* and *gunaikonomoi*, 153–54; fate after Demetrius, 158

Aristides of Ceos, 94, 198
Aristides the Just, 160, 162n, 230; alleged poverty of, 198n, 230–31; daughter Myrto discussed by Peripatetics, 198n, 231n
Aristocles, 184, 215, 225n
Aristocrates, son of Aristophanes, 128n
Aristodemus of Miletus, Antigonid general, 253, 259–260, 264
Aristonautes, son of Archenautes, 90; burial monument of, 59, 60 fig. 2
Aristonicus of Marathon, 174
Aristotle, Athenian naval commander, 260, 281
Aristotle, philosopher, 107; relations with Alexander, 205, 223n; with Philip, 216, 225; with Antipater, 25n, 205n, 223n; criticises liturgies, 172, 173, 186; prosecution of, 206–8; allegedly sacrifices to Pythias, 208–9; will, 25n, 200, 209n. *See also* Peripatos
Arrhidaeus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, 215, 224
Asander of Macedon, satrap of Caria, 125, 253, 259, 260–61, 263; honorary Athenian decree for, 29, 116–19, 120n, 125, 128, 130n, 260–61, 263
Asclepiades, philosopher, investigated by Areopagus, 100–101, 149, 152, 154
assembly, Athenian: under Phocion, 27, 30n, 36, 37, 40n, 42, 114, 115n; under Demetrius of Phalerum, 76, 107, 109, 114–15, 116–31; assembly pay, 28, 106, 114n
astunomoi, 28, 100n, 312–14
Athens: prosperity of, 13, 166, 189–95, 287; hostility to Macedon, 12, 23, 112–13, 114, 137, 156–58, 205–13, 266; foreign policy of, 124–25, 131, 158, 192–94, 278–87. *See also* democracy; financial management; navy; oligarchy

Babylon, 22, 24, 26, 34n, 62, 208
banquet laws: 67, 312; enacted by Demetrius, 68–70, 86, 200; concern for religious propriety in, 69–70; in other states, 72, 94n, 95, 201
bios praktikos/theôrêtikos: practised by Seven Sages, 236; by Demetrius of Phalerum, 238–40
Boeotia/Boeotians, 11, 65–66, 264, 265, 266–67
burial monuments: extravagance of, 55, 59, 62; heroising tendencies in, 58–62; prescribed by Demetrius, 48, 52–55, 62–65; *see also columella*; funerary laws; *labellum; mensa*
Byzantium, neutrality of, 268

Callimedon, Athenian politician, 24–25, 32n, 40
Callisthenes, 232
Caria, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263
Carthage, 192, 274, 275, 276, 279n, 283, 284n, 285
Carystius, Antigonus: source for Demetrius' regime, 46–47, 69, 183, 206n, 211, 214; information derived from Demochares, 46, 184, 215, 306–7
Carystus, 263, 268n, 270
Cassander of Macedon: campaign against Athens, 35, 38–40, 194n, 242–47; settlement of Athens, 41–42, 107, 113–14; influence on Demetrius' legislation, 90–91; campaigns for Macedonia, 35, 248–51; influence in Peloponnese, 248, 249, 264, 265; rebuilds Thebes, 251–52, 264; interest in Caria, 260, 264; campaigns at Oreus, 256–57, 267; relations with Antigonus Monophthalmus, 35, 38, 39, 223, 248, 252–54, 259–60, 264–68, 272; relations with Ptolemy, 35, 252–53, 259, 260, 273–74; and Alexander IV, 250
Chaeron, tyrant of Pellene, 224
Charondas, lawgiver, 47, 71n; enacts anti-luxury laws, 57, 94–95, 98, 199. *See also nomothetai*
Cicero: on Demetrius of Phalerum's oratory, 232–33; sees Demetrius as model, 234, 236–40; on Athenian funerary laws, 47–48, 50–55
Cilicia, 273
Citizenship, Athenian: restricted under Antipater, 26–27, 114; under Cassander, 41, 108–9, 112–13, 115, 116, 161–63, 220n; 'hoplite census', 27, 115–16; numbers qualifying for, 26–27, 109–12
Cleomis (tyrant of Methymna), 95n, 99, 201, 203
Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, 274
columella (grave marker), 51–55

comedy: source for Demetrius' regime, 67–68, 308; hostility to philosophers in, 221–22
Corinth, 264, 265, 274
council (*boulê*), 17, 76, 106, 117, 120, 124, 125n
courts, Athenian (*dikastêria, hêliaia*), 28, 106, 107, 113, 148–51; status under Demetrius, 107, 138–147; *see also eisangelia; graphê paranomôn*; juries
Craterus, Macedonian general, 24, 32–33
Crates, Cynic philosopher, 88, 169, 227, 312
Cycladic islands, 258
Cyprus, 254, 255, 256
Cyrene: census for citizenship, 27n, 116n; inscription on Demetrius 'the orator', 232; *see also* Ophellas
Cythnos, 257, 279

Delian League, 230
Delos, 166, 258, 259, 263, 280
Demades, Athenian orator: honours Alexander, 22, 24, 61, 210; as envoy, 24, 33; as *khorêgos*, 181n; political activity under Phocion, 24, 30, 33, 74n, 228n, 313; execution of, 42, 210
Demetrius of Phalerum: family background, 9, 10, 25, 218; ties with Peripatos, 25, 197, 227, 232–35; ties with Cassander, 40; patron of philosophers, 213, 226–28; begins political career, 23; as envoy, 24, 32–33, 40, 241–42; and Phocion's regime, 32–33, 36, 112, 159–60; official titles, 41, 45, 95–97; archonship of, 43, 131, 182–84, 193–94, 213, 273; as orator, 232–35; as demagogue, 127–28, 172–73; alleged tyrant, 105, 160–61; 'divine' image, 44, 213, 300; legislative programme of, 47–86, 90–103, 176–78; curtails state expenditure, 117, 119, 131, 139, 191–92; building programme, 191; statues of, 44, 126; accused of impiety, 211–13; condemned as oligarch, 130, 163, 299; treats with Antigonids, 268, 270, 277; exile from Athens, 114, 278, 300; at Ptolemaic court, 83, 300–301; literary output, 142n, 184, 197, 230–32, 305; alleged translation of Septuagint, 227, 301; alleged rôle in Library of Alexandria, 227, 301; allegedly dissolute lifestyle, 180–81, 194–95, 218
Demetrius Poliorcetes: liberation of Athens, 114–15, 173, 264, 269, 277–78; cult honours in Athens, 2, 173, 175, 208n, 224, 299–300; confused in sources with Demetrius of Phalerum, 9n, 46n, 309n
Demochares, Athenian orator: early activity, 137n; attacks Theophrastus, 205–6; defends law of Sophocles, 206, 208, 214–15, 219, 221–22; clashes with Demetrius' associates, 133–37; criticisms of Demetrius, 128, 136n, 159n, 166, 182–83, 184, 193–94, 204, 217–19, 220, 300; denigration of philosophers, 215–17, 222n; modifies rhetoric for Antigonids, 222–25; after Demetrius' regime, 194; as source for Phalerean period, 46–47, 306–8
Democlides, archon (316/15), 132–37
democracy, at Athens: characteristics of, 106, 120–21, 122–23, 138–39, 140, 147, 161–62; criticisms of, 106, 115–16, 139; in Lycurgan period, 16–21, 157n; 'strengthened' by Demetrius of Phalerum, 45, 93–94, 105, 291, 296; restoration of (318), 37–38; restoration of, (307/6), 105–6, 115n, 173–74, 277; cult of, 16, 161n. *See also* oligarchy
Demophilus, Athenian prosecutor, 205, 207
Demosthenes, 12, 13, 22n, 31n, 33, 150n, 151, 156, 165n; Demochares' use of, 193n, 306n; criticised by Demetrius, 159n, 306
diaitêtai (arbitrators): under Phocion, 28n
Dinarchus, logographer, 43, 147; source for *nomophulakes*, 73–75, 310; on the powers of the Areopagus, 149–50, 153, 156n; possible associate of Demetrius, 74–75, 145–46, 232; prosecuted in 307/6, 145
Dionysia, festival: lack of inscriptional evidence for, 117, 171; Demetrius' conduct during, 182, 193n, 213, 220, 273, 300; and Demetrieia, 175; *see also khorêgeia; agônothesia*
Dionysius, garrison commander at Munychia, 269
Dioscorides, Antigonid admiral, 254, 258, 259, 260, 280

Docimus, Antigonid general, 263
dokimasia, under Demetrius of Phalerum, 122n
donkeys, paraded by Demetrius, 182
dress, legal restrictions on, 19, 70–71, 72, 94, 100n, 202, 295n, 312, 313
Duris of Samos: resident in Athens, 307; student of Theophrastus, 198; criticism of Demetrius, 46–47, 68–69, 86, 96, 139, 182n, 191–92, 194–95, 213, 219, 298, 300, 307; and Antigonids, 223n, 300

eisangelia, 141–44 , 145, 146, 150n; against Himeraeus, 74–75, 145–46
election, of Athenian officials, 29, 131–38, 169–70
Eleusis, 247; laws on travel to, 20, 71, 100, 102; buildings at, 14, 191; cenotaph of Pythonice, near, 62; garrison at, 247
ephêbeia, ephebes: 15–16, 19, 20; under Demetrius, 86–89, 91, 101, 117, 159n, 293
Ephialtes: reforms Areopagus, 76, 80, 138, 139n, 141, 147; creation of *nomophulakes*, 76, 77, 84n, 155
Epidamnus/Epidamnians, 245, 246
Epirus, 246, 250, 265, 271
Eretria, 268n, 270
Euboea/Euboeans, 265, 266–67; Demetrieia festival at, 175n; *see also* Chalcis, Oreus
Eucrates, law of, 21, 157n
eukosmia (good order): enforced by *gunaikonomoi*, 66, 70, 72, 85–86; enforced by *nomophulakes*, 81–82, 85–86, 290; enforced by Areopagus, 79–81, 100–101; enforced by *epimelêtai*, 100n, 293; in *ephêbeia*, 87, 293; underlying concern of Demetrius' laws, 92–94, 292; in laws of early *nomothetai*, 94–95; concern of Lycurgus for, 19–20, 102, 292–94
Eumenes, general in Asia, 249
Eupolemus, Cassandran general, 268, 271
Eurydice, wife of Philip Arrhidaeus, 250
Euthydice of Athens, 275
Exiles' Decree/Edict: of Alexander, 21–22, 25, 259, 262n; of Polyperchon, 36, 37n, 38

Favorinus: as source for Demetrius, 218, 219, 309–10
financial management, of Athens: under Lycurgus, 13–14, 17–18; under Demetrius, 166, 189–95; as motivation for Demetrius' laws, 55–56, 69–70, 165–67, 169–70, 291
food supply. *See* grain
'Four Years War' (307–303), 271
funerary laws: Athenian, before Demetrius, 48, 49–50, 56–57, 91; enacted by Demetrius, 47–50, 102, 200; enforcement by *gunaikonomoi*, 50–51, 68n; as democratic, 91; religious motivation for, 56–58; archeological evidence for, 49n, 51–53, 65–66; of other states, 55, 57, 94, 99

garrison, Macedonian, at Munychia: under Antipater, 26, 31; under Cassander, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42n, 124, 243, 244, 246, 247; impact on Athenian trade, 39, 166, 286; and Demetrius' regime, 108, 131, 161, 188, 268–69, 270–71, 286, 289, 297n; removal in 307/6, 278
garrisons, Macedonian, elsewhere in Attica: 244–45
Glaucetas, pirate, 189, 257–58, 281–82
grain: Athenian trade: 13, 166, 192; and Athenian foreign policy, 189–90, 282–84, 287; food supply in Athens, 39, 40, 166, 194
grammateus, 28, 131. *See also* 'secretarial cycles'; *anagrapheus*
graphê paranomôn, 77n, 79n, 107, 138–41, 147, 214n
Greeks, liberation of: espoused by Antigonids, 226, 253, 264, 265, 267; espoused by Ptolemy, 273–74
gunaikonomoi (censors of women): creation of, at Athens, 66–68, 99–100, 312–14; Athenian duties of, 49–50, 66, 68–69, 70–72, 315–18; and Athenian Areopagus, 154–55, 290; abolition of, at Athens, 102, 176, 297; consistent with democracy, 91–92, 99–100, 102, 201–2, 292, 295; in other states, 49, 50, 51, 70, 72, 83n, 94, 99, 100n, 201, 202

Hagnon of Teos, Athenian action against 254–56

Hagnonides, 38, 41, 113; prosecutions of philosophers, 205, 206, 209n, 211n
Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander the Great, 22, 23; and Pythionice, 62, 208–9, 225; 'Harpalus affair', 4, 22–23, 151, 153
Harpocration, lexicographer, as source for Phalerean period, 311
heliomorphos (sun-shaped), epithet of Demetrius, 44, 213, 300
hendeka (eleven gaolers): under Phocion, 28n; relations with *nomophulakes*, 73, 77–78, 81–82, 84, 312
Heracles, son of Alexander the Great, 272
Hermias, tyrant of Artarneus: relations with Macedon, 207n, 216, 225; and Aristotle's impiety, 206–9; characterisation by Theopompus, 217
Hieronymus of Cardia, as *epimelêtês*, 96n
Himeraeus, brother of Demetrius, 9–10; in 'Harpalus affair', 153; execution of, 33; death used in anti-Demetrius propaganda, 65, 211–12, 218, 225, 307; speech against, by Dinarchus, 73–75, 76, 145–46
Homer: Demetrius' scholarship on, 184; esteemed by Alexander, Cassander and Demetrius, 183–84
Homeristai, introduction of, 182–83
honours, bestowed by Athens, 26, 29, 38, 125, 129, 163; on Lamian War allies, 243n, 245–46; on Demetrius of Phalerum, 44, 126; on Asander of Macedon, 118–19, 125, 130n; on Antigonids, 173, 175, 224; influence of Cassander on, 124, 125–27

Illyria, 260
Imbros, 258, 280; Athenian hegemony over, 11, 247, 280; Athenian loss of, 166, 258–60
impiety: allegations of, against philosophers, 204, 206–12, 216–17, 224; concern of Areopagus for, 149, 151, 154, 158; target of Demetrius' legislation, 56–57, 70, 72, 178–79, 292–93; in honours for Antigonids, 224–25
inscriptions, Athenian, output of: under Phocion, 31n, 117; under Demetrius, 116–18, 119; after Demetrius, 123n
Isocrates: panhellenism of, 12n; champions Areopagus, 147–48

juries, Athenian: size of, 142–44; jury pay, 28, 106, 139, 220; *see also* courts; *eisangelia; graphê paranomôn*

khorêgeia: alleged abolition by Demetrius, 168, 171–73; criticised by Aristotle, 172
khoregic monuments: extravagance of, 178–80; Demetrius enacts limits on, 176–78

labellum (grave marker), 52–55
Lamian War, 23–24, 112–13; impact on Athenian resources, 2, 166, 192, 282, 291; Athens honours allies in, 29n, 38, 243n, 246n
League of Corinth: Athenian relations with, 10–11, 12, 21, 35
Lemnos: under Athenian hegemony, 11, 247, 280; Athenian loss of, 258–59; Athenian campaign for, 259–61, 278–79, 280
Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense, source for Demetrius' regime, 76, 77, 84n, 142, 143, 144, 311
Libya, 276
liturgies: alleged abolition by Demetrius, 167,188–89; *see also khorêgeia*; trierarchy
loutêrion (grave marker). *See labellum*
luxury: corrupting power of, 93; concern of Demetrius' programme, 47, 91, 292; concern of archaic lawgivers, 94–95; concern among Demetrius' contemporaries for, 98–99, 201
Lycon, Peripatetic scholarch, 199–200
Lycurgus, Athenian statesman: financial management by, 14, 165, 189n, 298; measures enacted by 71; building programme of, 14–15, 183n, 191; interest in religion and *eukosmia*, 19–20, 22, 71, 102, 174–75, 292–93, 297; centralisation of power under, 17–19; revival of *ephêbeia*, 87n; figurehead of democracy, 174, 175n, 229; links with Academy, 202; as model for Demetrius, 99–101, 165–66, 228–29, 292, 296–99
Lycurgus, Spartan lawgiver, 19n, 45, 55, 56, 94; Demetrius' comments on, 193n; *see also nomothetai*

Lynceus, of Samos: resident in Athens, 67–68; student of Theophrastus, 198n; concern for extravagance, 98; as source for Demetrius' regime, 307
Lysimachus, satrap of Thrace, 252–53
Lysippus, sculptor, 44, 229n

Medius, Antigonid admiral, 262, 267, 269
Megara, 274
Menander, comic poet, 43, 308; on *gunaikonomoi*, 67; on Athenian courts, 145; student of Peripatos, 198; attitude to Demetrius' regime, 145n, 198; prosecution of (307/6), 145n; plays reflect concern for Athenian citizenship, 162
Menedemus, philosopher, investigated by Areopagus, 100–101, 149, 152, 154
mensa (grave marker), 51–55
mines/mining, 190

navy, Athenian: under Lycurgus, 10, 14, 15, 282; under Phocion, 2, 34–35, 255–57; under Demetrius of Phalerum, 124, 191–92, 257–58, 259–60, 263, 267, 278, 279, 280–81; under the Antigonids, 279
Nicanor, garrison commander at Munychia, 35, 36, 38, 39, 169, 211, 243–44; family connections, 249; shelters Demetrius, 36, 40; in anti-Demetrius propaganda, 211, 218–19, 225; acts as *agônothetês* (319/18), 169, 176, 180; executed, 249
Nicias, *khorêgos* (320/19), 178–79, 180
Nicodorus, Athenian archon (314/13), 258, 260–61
nomophulakes (law-guardians): Athenian existence of, fifth-century, 76, 77; inherit *nomophulakia* from Areopagus, 83–85, 154, 289; Demetrius' creation of, 72–75, 100; relationship to 'the eleven' gaolers, 77–78, 81–82, 84, 312; duties of, at Athens, 76–82, 85; relationship to Athenian courts and assembly, 107, 139–40, 289; relationship to Athenian democracy, 155; disbanded in Athens (307/6), 102, 176, 297; in other states, 75n, 82, 202n
nomophulakia (guardianship of laws), at Athens, 78–81, 86, 100–101, 154
nomos argias (idleness law), Athenian, 81, 100–101, 151
nomothetai/*nomothetês* (law givers): enact moral legislation, 55, 56, 57, 70–71; as models for Demetrius, 94–96, 98, 203; Demetrius' scholarly interest in, 95; existence fabricated in fourth century, 98; *see also* Demetrius, official title of

oligarchy, Athenian: in fifth century, 27, 109, 140n, 160–61; under Phocion 26–32; under Demetrius, 105–8, 120–23, 127–28, 147–48, 156, 159–63
Olympias, mother of Alexander III, 35, 246, 250; orders removal of Munychia garrison, 36, 39, 242, 246
Olynthus: Aristotle's alleged betrayal of, 159n, 216, 225
Ophellas, ruler of Cyrene, campaign against Carthage, 274–76; rationale for Athenian support of, 282–83; relations with Ptolemy, 276n
oratory, Athenian: fate under Demetrius, 146, 235; *see also* Demetrius, as orator
Oreus, Euboean city: hostility to Cassander, 265; Athenian participation in campaign against, 124–25, 256–57, 278–79; concessions granted to Athens in campaign against, 285
Oropus: under Athenian control, 11, 14; revenues derived from, 174; Athenian loss of, 26; capture by Cassander, 268

Panactum, under Cassander's control, 244, 247–48
Panathenaea, festival: royal patronage of, 170–71; in Demetrius' archonship, 182, 273; alleged changes to, by Demerius, 182n, 185n
patrios politeia (ancestral constitution), Athenian: announced by Antipater, 27; oligarchic overtones, 27–28, 31–32, 116, 148; as democratic slogan, 27n
Perdiccas, Macedonian regent, 34; restores Samos to Samians, 26, 259; Athenian campaign against, 34–35, 254n, 255–57
Periander, Corinthian tyrant and lawgiver, 98n, 216; laws enacted by, 95, 193n, 201, 295; Demetrius' writings on, 95; *see also nomothetai*
Pericles, Athenian statesman: as lawgiver, 71n, 96n, 138–39, 162;

funeral speech of, 19, 20, 102, 287, 294; dominates assembly, 299; tyranny of, 160–61; patronage of philosophers, 228–29; criticised by Demetrius, 191; Demetrius of Phalerum, comparison with, 127–28, 131, 160–61, 172–73, 220, 228, 289
Peripatos: Demetrius' association with, 25, 197, 227, 232–35; associations with Macedon, 25, 116n, 204–5, 212, 215–16, 223, 226; Athenian prosecutions of members, 205–12; alleged influence on Demetrius' laws, 5–6, 7, 106–7, 115–16, 131n, 166–67, 172, 186, 197–98, 199–200; Peripatetic style in oratory, 232–34; *see also* Aristotle; Theophrastus; Lycon
Phanodemus, Atthidographer, 79, 80, 100
Philip, brother of Cassander, 265
Philip II, of Macedon, upholds democracy at Athens, 21
Philip III Arrhidaeus, 24, 34, 242, 250
Philippides, of Kephale or Paiania: law on women, 71, 100; *agônothesia*, of Philippides of Kephale, 170–71, 187
Philochorus, Atthidographer, as source for Demetrius' regime, 68, 69, 73, 76–77, 83–85, 143–44, 188, 244, 310
Philon, prosecutor of Sophocles, 214
philosophy/philosophers: Athenian antipathy towards, 204, 206, 221–22, 231–32; influence on laws and lawgivers, 198–203; philosophers characterised as tyrant-makers, 215–17, 223–24; language of, used in polemic against Demetrius, 218–20; *see also* Peripatos; Plato; Theophrastus
Phocion, Athenian general and statesman: ties with Demetrius, 25; ties with Antipater, 30–31; as *epimelêtês*, 30; regime of (322/21–319/18), 26–32; condemnation and death, 37; verdict of Demetrius on, 159–60
Phyle, garrisoning of, 247
Piraeus: capture by Nicanor, 36; divided from city, 166, 242, 270–71; *see also* garrison
pirates/piracy: employed by Antigonids, 189, 257–58; target of Athenian activity, 257–58, 281, 282
Plato, philosopher: on luxury laws, 48n, 57, 69n, on *nomophulakes*, 75n; alleged influence on Demetrius, 199, 200; influence on Lycurgus, 202; pupils alleged as tyrants, 215
Pleistarchus, brother of Cassander, 268, 271
Polemaeus, Antigonid general: campaigns in central Greece, 267–68, 272; invasion of Attica, 268–71; Demetrius compelled to negotiate with, 115, 137, 268
Polemon, Athenian archon (312/11), 132, 137–38
Pollux: as source for Demetrius, 66, 72–73, 75, 77–78, 142, 143, 213–14, 311
Polyeuctus of Sphettus: surrender demanded by Alexander, 13; moves honours in 318/17, 245–46
Polyperchon, Macedonian general, 35, 248–49, 250, 272; relations with Athens, 36–40
population, Athenian, 26–27, 109–110, 111
Ptolemy, son of Lagus, (Ptolemy I Soter): in Diadochan wars, 35, 248, 252, 253, 260, 272–74; supports Athenian *agônothetai*, 170–71; receives Demetrius as exile, 239, 300–301; legislation of, influenced by Demetrius, 82n, 83
Pydna, 260
Pytheas, Athenian politician: political activity, 135, 153; speech of Dinarchus against, 73–74
Pythias, wife of Aristotle: sacrificed to by Aristotle, 208–9; relationship to Hermias, 209
Pythionice, mistress of Harpalus: cenotaph in Attica, 62, 208; as model for impiety allegations, 208–9, 212n, 225

rhapsodes, and Demetrius, 182n; *see also Homeristai*
religious concerns, in Demetrius' laws. *See* banquet laws; funerary laws; *agônothesia*

Samos/Samians: impact of Exiles' Decree on, 22, 26, 36, 259; under Cassander's settlement, 247; *gunaikonomoi* at, 99; under Antigonid hegemony, 166, 259; possible Athenian attempt on, 261–63, 279, 280
Scyros, 280
'secretarial cycles', 120–23
Seleucus, satrap of Babylonia: in Diadochan wars, 252–53, 259, 260, 272

Seven Sages, 236–37
Sicyon, 264, 265, 274
snail, mechanical, paraded by Demetrius, 182
Socrates, philosopher: Athenian attack on, 204; fictitious prosecution speech against, 74, 146; portrait statue at Athens, 229; Demochares' polemic against, 159n, 222n; Demetrius' writings about, 162n, 230–32
Solon, Athenian legislator: funerary laws of, 48, 49, 50, 56–57, 102; laws on women, 70, 72; on jury sizes, 142–43; interest in *eukosmia*, 92; as model for Demetrius, 94, 95; styled *nomothetês*, 96n
Sophocles of Sunium, author of law: prosecuted for *graphê paranomon* (306), 141n, 214; defended by Demochares, 214. *See also*, Demochares
Sophocles, law of, regulating philosophical schools: 204, 213–14; date of, 214–15
Sparta, 281
Stilpo of Megara, investigated for impiety by Areopagus, 149, 152–54
stratégos/stratêgoi (generals): under Phocion, deposed from office, 30; *see also* Demetrius, official titles of
Straton, Peripatetic scholarch, 199–200
Syracuse, Athenian trade with, 283

Teles, philosopher, as source on the *ephêbeia*, 88
Telesphorus, Antigonid admiral/general: in Diadochan wars, 264, 267, 269, 271; possible defender of Menander, 145n
Telocles, Athenian politician, 129–30
Thasos: luxury laws and *gunaikonomoi* on, 70, 71, 99, 201; influence of Plato on, 202–3
Thebes: supports Athenian rebellions, 279; exiles received by Athens, 279; relations with Cassander, 251, 265, 268, 280; rebuilding supported by Athens, 251–252, 253, 280
Theodorus, atheist philosopher: investigated for impiety by Areopagus, 149, 152–53, 157; intervention of Demetrius in investigation, 213, 227
Theophrastus, Peripatetic philosopher: relations with Cassander, 205; relations with Demetrius, 58n, 197, 227, 232–33, 239; views on sortition, 131n; investigated for impiety, 137n, 149, 152, 154, 155, 157, 209–210, 212, 221; quits Athens, 214, 215
Thermopylae, 252, 266
thesmothetai: confused with *nomophulakes*, 76, 77–78
Thessalonice, port of, 279
Thessalonice, sister of Alexander the Great, 250
Thucydides, funeral oration, 19, 20, 102, 287, 294
Thymochares of Sphettus: campaigns off Cyprus, 254–57; campaigns against Glaucetas, 257–58, 281–82; assists Cassander at Oreus, 267; gains concession from Cassander at Oreus, 256–57
trapeza (grave marker). *See mensa*
trierarchy, status under Demetrius, 186–88
Triparadisus, 255
Tyre, proclamation of (316/15). *See* Greeks, liberation of

Xenocles of Sphettus: associate of Lycurgus, 18, 173, 174, 191; associate of the Antigonids, 173, 175–76; first attested *agônothetês*, 168, 181–82
Xenocrates, Academic scholarch: as envoy to Antipater, 32; Demetrius comments on rhetoric of, 32n, 235n; alleged assistance by Demetrius, 226–29; alleged assistance by Lycurgus and Demades, 228

Zaleucus, lawgiver, 47, 70, 71n, 94, 131, 198; *see also nomothetai*